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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2177

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5 August 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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HUNGARIAN COMMENTARY ON RECENT SOVIET PLENUM SPEECHES

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 26 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Csaba Kis: "In the Long Run; A Guide for the Program of the Party; In the Highest Constitutional Post"]

[Text] "Imperialism--primarily American imperialism--is directing attacks against our social system and the Marxist-Leninist ideology on an unexampled scale." "We live in not simple but rather in what might be called stormy times." "Mankind is living in a special historical epoch. This epoch is characterized by a struggle between two diametrically opposed world views and political trends, between socialism and imperialism, being conducted with an intensity and sharpness without example thus far in the postwar period." The first sentence quoted comes from the speech of Konstantin Chernenko, the second from the speech of Andrey Gromyko and the third from the speech of Yuriy Andropov--at the most recent plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPSU or at the session of the Supreme Soviet. The two Soviet political events, of great importance and following one another, have elicited an extraordinary response in the internal political life of the country; they contained positions and passed measures which will have an effect for a long time.

The Two Sessions

The chief task of the plenary session of the Central Committee was a review of ideological work, but there was talk there of practically every aspect of Soviet life--the economy, science, culture, every component of politics--primarily in the speech of First Secretary Yuriy Andropov, and the plenum adopted a resolution of extraordinary significance--it provides a precise guide for working out a modification of the program of the party.

And the summer session of the Supreme Soviet not only passed an important law about factory collectives--this was a significant step on the path of broadening socialist democracy--but it also provided a review, in the speech of the Soviet foreign minister, of how the leadership of the country sees the problem of the world in this extraordinarily sharpened situation, what solutions it recommends, and what it considers to be the primary tasks. This session passed a resolution on how to fill the highest constitutional office, left vacant since the death of

Leonid Brezhnev--it elected Yuriy Andropov to be president of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, thus also giving expression to the fact that the will of the party and of the people in the country as united, and that the election of the first secretary of the Central Committee to this office--as formulated by Konstantin Chernenko who made the nomination--"serves the supreme interests of society and state, the successful execution of the goals designated by the 26th congress and the cause of communist construction."

The plenum attempted to define the goals of communist construction with great precision. Andropov designated the starting point this way: A realistic analysis of the existing situations and a clear guide for the future. The first secretary of the Central Committee quoted with emphasis the words of Lenin: The program must be worked out "without exaggerations, in an objective way, not abandoning the facts."

Andropov designated as one of the most important tasks, as he has done in previous speeches, the creation of order in all those areas where the production and technical-scientific potentation of the country should be used in the most rational possible way and in the area of a radical improvement of planning and guidance. But the first secretary spoke with the same emphasis of how one must deal with the situation of people in a more composite way than heretofore--instead of simplified ideas about raising the standard of living the goal should be what he called in his speech "socialist civilization" and he specified it this way: Going beyond increasing the income of the populace and producing consumer goods, this concept means a constant raising of the self-awareness and culture of people, the cultured nature of life and behavior, a rational consumer culture, exemplary public order, a healthy and rational diet, high level services for the populace and spending free time valuably in the moral and esthetic sense. Ensuring all this will be an important part of the new program of the party.

No less emphasis must be given in the program to the development of the political system and the expansion of socialist democracy, the first secretary of the Central Committee emphasized, when he analyzed what lessons must be drawn from realities. It is worthy of note that in the first place he designated as a task the further democratization of the system of making decisions, and in practically every area of state and social life, but first of all in the guidance of production.

He spoke very sharply about everything which hinders such a development, in economic life and in the political development of society alike. As "the chief enemy" he named formalism, stereotypes, cowardice, indolence, corruption and abuse of official power and replacement of realization of democratic norms with appearances and externals. "In this area the law must be unsparing and must be applied to everyone alike," he said, stressing that it is extraordinarily important that words never differ from deeds. (Two personnel decisions show that the Central Committee is trying to implement this principle. Two members, Shcholokov, former

minister of internal affairs, and Medunov, former first secretary of the Krasnodar border region party committee, were removed from Central Committee membership for improper work and behavior. According to articles in the Soviet press light has been cast on several cases of corruption and abuses in the Krasnodar region recently.)

### Starting From Life

In a way similar to statements thus far, the program must designate the future of the political structure in the realization of social self-administration. Andropov emphasized that this transition will be gradual and must develop in part through a further development of the all-peoples state and partly by the increased inclusion of the masses in guiding social affairs. Here also he called attention to realities. "The future path and forms of a development of democracy must be found not in an abstract way but rather by starting from life."

Prior to the summary speech of Andropov the Central Committee dealt with questions representing important conditions for realization of the program, inside and outside the country--with questions of ideology, science, art and public education. Such a comprehensive analysis has come up now after a long time, and here also questions were raised primarily in connection with the way to develop socialist society, the Soviet society. The necessary conclusions were drawn from the theoretical findings of the 26th congress that developed socialism is a historically long phase, and among these conclusions it was emphasized that ideological-political work must be done soberly, starting from realities, in this area one must start not from "resolutions valid for all time" but rather from reality.

The immediate foreign policy components of this phase were summed up by Gromyko in his speech. The Soviet foreign minister reviewed everything which Soviet policy has done in recent years in the form of initiatives and proposals. He did not place the emphasis on new proposals--although initiatives were taken in this area. The Soviet proposal pertaining to a freeze on the manufacture, testing and deploying of nuclear weapons was given official form and supported by an appeal by the Supreme Soviet. But primarily he summarized processes and positions and from this again drew the conclusion that in the present international situation the chief goal of Soviet foreign policy, which is also the common goal of all humanity, is the defense of peace.

In the speeches of both Andropov and Gromyko an analysis of the situation of the socialist countries and the development of their relations with one another received a great role. Andropov, who had dealt with this theme earlier at the end of the 1950's as a department chief and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, now gave a very fundamental analysis. He called the strengthening of the cooperation and unity of the socialist countries the most important goal of the international activity of the Soviet state, but at the same time he said that it was natural that there are significant differences between the several socialist countries.

## New Lessons

This analysis were illustrated that the leadership of the CPSU is starting from realities here also, as did the fact that Andropov called attention to certain lessons--obviously starting from, among other things, the experiences of the situation in Poland, but also taking into consideration other factors. He noted the danger of bourgeois reformism and nationalism, noting that the danger of inter-state conflicts could appear although these have no justification in the socialist world. Such dangers can be avoided only by a correct policy and the condition for the development of such a correct policy is "an objective and scientific analysis of the essence of the differences in view arising between the several socialist countries and between the several fraternal parties within the world communist movement and discovering on a Marxist-Leninist basis the paths leading to overcoming them and to a strengthening of the unity of communists."

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KAPEK DISCUSSES PRAGUE'S ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 6, May 83 pp 3-15

[Article by Antonin Kapek, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague Municipal Party Committee: "The Revolutionary Traditions of the Prague Working Class Are Binding"]

[Excerpt] When evaluating fulfillment of the conclusions adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress, the municipal party conference emphasized that we must continue to concentrate primary attention on intensifying Prague's economy. Thus we are continuing to aim for improving the quality of work, reducing productive consumption, and conserving materials and energy.

The plants in Prague have achieved good results in penetrating world markets and in fulfilling the tasks stemming from the international socialist division of labor. Despite the complexity of the conditions, Prague's economy has been able to cope with most of its tasks and to respond properly to the negative trends. The overall tasks of the plan were fulfilled in 1981-1982 even at lower fuel and power consumption, and the numerous rationalization measures produced favorable results.

However, the municipal party conference criticized the fact that not all Prague plants fulfilled the plan in the required quantity and quality. Serious problems still persist at a number of plants. These problems manifest themselves particularly in uneven plan fulfillment, and in failure to maintain the assortment and quality. Rush work, criticized for years, still continues, and the rhythm of production is not being maintained. Problems occur also in ensuring deliveries for the domestic market.

The municipal party committee sees the causes of these negative phenomena particularly in the inadequate quality of party work in individual areas, and in the unsatisfactory managerial work of a number of responsible managers. Some managers have a defensive approach to the solution of problems, adhere to the stereotype and to unsound routine, and sometimes are indolent. Inadequate observation of labor and technological discipline, disorder in production and slovenliness likewise are causing us much concern. The municipal party committee is not turning a blind eye to these facts and is leading the party organs and organizations at the plants and enterprises in an earnest and systematic struggle against all shortcomings.

We regard as our constant political task the more consistent implementation of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System, and systematic

control to ensure observation of the entire Set of Measures and of its individual principles as well. The party organizations must oppose even more consistently the cases in which the so-called objective causes of not fulfilling the economic tasks conceal violations of party discipline, of Lenin's norms of party life, and the promotion of local interests. And specifically here the support and spreading of specific experience are of unique importance as an inseparable part of society's management and a significant factor of its perfection. We must include the widest possible strata of workers in the efforts to improve the efficiency of managerial work and to eliminate shortcomings. It is absolutely necessary that the struggle to assert the principles of the Set of Measures become the cause of a much wider circle of employees, and of blue-collar workers in particular. Without qualitative changes in management and planning at every level, and without the workers' extensive initiative, the problems of society's economic development cannot be solved successfully.

The urgency of consistently adopting this approach to the solution of the economic tasks fully applies also to Prague's economy. In Prague, too, we must constantly restore the dynamism of industrial production and of entire economic development, raise labor productivity and reduce the proportion of output costs. These are tasks that place, and will continue to place also in the coming period, increased demands on managerial work, on strengthening the conscious Communist attitude of managers, foremen and blue-collar workers to their work.

In Prague we are devoting special attention to engineering and the electrotechnical industry, which follows from the share of these areas within Prague's economy and from their significance in ensuring dynamic economic development. The process of product innovation must proceed faster than heretofore also in these areas and the technological level must be raised, as this was emphasized at the municipal party conference that considered a number of other problems pertaining to the development of Prague's economy. It is the task of every party organ and organization to shape the economic thinking of not only the managers but of all workers as well, so that the barriers of obsolete approaches may be overcome in the methods and management of work, acceptance of the new may prevail, and that there be sufficient courage to seek new ways, methods and procedures in production.

A task of exceptional importance is to ensure research and development and its efficient utilization. The plans of technological development must be organically linked to the other parts of the plan, and to the production plan in particular. These intentions cannot be converted into reality without the initiative of all workers. To combine the creative forces and initiative of the working class and of the socialist scientific and technological intelligentsia is an objective essential requirement that stems from the dialectics of theory and practice in production.

The municipal party committee is providing full support for the already unfolded movement to combine science with practice, with production. Much valuable experience has been gained from the development of cooperation between workplaces of CKD [Ceskomorayska-Kolben-Danek] and the Czech Institute of Technology; this experience deserves to be spread faster and more boldly also at other enterprises and institutions. The capacity of Prague's scientific research base is extensive, as evident from its 30-percent share of the expenditures for technological development in Czechoslovakia. However, the state of innovation activity



is not in accord with the possibilities determined by the capacity of the scientific research base in Prague. The production volume of new products has increased, but their share of commodity production has declined. Development is not favorable even in the case of products with the highest technical and economic parameters: their proportion is merely 2.1 percent. However, the struggle for innovation is not an automatic process. It requires the indispensable, and especially constant, attention of the economic and party organs. Comprehensive progress in the technical and the economic area must be in accord with the efforts of the party and trade union organs and organizations; here a necessary and irreplaceable condition of success is to gain the interest and participation of the blue-collar workers.

We likewise cannot yield on the requirement that the plans must be maximally specific, so that all workers may know the plans and also their personal tasks and responsibilities; naturally, they must also have a financial incentive to fulfill them. Experience indicates that thorough knowledge of the plan and specific definition of a worker's personal responsibility are an indispensable base for developing all forms of the workers' real initiative. As the municipal party conference emphasized, the creation of such a base is the concern not only of managers, but of the party, trade union, and youth organizations as well. The municipal party conference also expressed the requirement that party organizations show determined activity in the struggle for scientific and technological progress, in developing in the workers a high sense of responsibility as owners at their workplace, in combating local and group interests, passivity and indifference, and in properly exercising the right of control. The party will continue to support those managers and everyone else who are not afraid of responsibility. At the same time the party will act more decisively wherever inferior work is being performed, and it will call to account anyone who does not demonstrate sufficient knowledge, ability and will to thoroughly solve the problems.

The municipal party committee demands of the Communists that they set an example in their work and in dealing with people. One cannot refer constantly to revolutionary traditions and at the same time not bear in mind the tasks of the present and future. We are not recalling progressive traditions for their own sake. For us history is not merely a source of inspiration for further work and perspectives, but also a lesson as to what of tradition is binding and useful, and what must not be ignored, neither today nor tomorrow. One of Lenin's principles regarding party activity is the party's ties with the masses. In addition to their proven and constant forms, today the party's ties with the masses have also their new and special form that stems from the party's leading role in the stage of building an advanced socialist society. Assertion of the party's leading role is being realized only in contact with the masses, as a many-sided and complex process.

Forming the individual and his socialist way of life is also a part of building an advanced socialist society. Therefore education in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and struggle against bourgeois ideology and petit-bourgeois mentality occupy top place in our ideological and educational work. We are devoting special attention to strengthening the socialist attitude toward work, the sense of socialist ownership, and proletarian internationalism. We wish to strengthen also the workers' economic education. Fulfillment of these tasks is organically

linked not only to ensuring the dynamism of economic development, but also to solving the problem of investment construction in Prague as the capital of the CSSR, with solving the problems related to the life of Prague's population.

The Prague party organization is setting for itself ever newer, realistic and high tasks and objectives in pursuing the policy of building an advanced socialist society. It regards as a part of this policy further investment development in Prague as the capital of Czechoslovakia. In this task, by no means an easy one, we have the systematic and large-scale support of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the central state organs. Comrade Husak has frequently emphasized that Prague must become a model socialist metropolis, the calling card of our state.

It can be said with full responsibility that during the past decade much has been done for Prague's development of which we may justifiably be proud. The revolutionary influence of the working class asserted itself also in Prague in solving the problems of its investment development, and not only at the production plants and enterprises, through the direct influence of the plants on the city's capital construction, but also through the deputies in the national committees and their organs, and in the citizens' committees. The revolutionary traditions of the Prague working class have been and are being embodied in Prague's gradual transformation into a model socialist metropolis. The municipal party committee is aiming for these objectives also through political work among the masses; the purpose of this work is to develop further the activity and initiative of the citizens within the individual districts, to form model plants, shops, working collectives, districts, housing developments and their subdivisions.

During the past 13 years, development of the capital city of Prague has been characterized by extensive construction and reconstruction that will serve to inscribe these years in the eventful history of Prague as a period of dynamic development in which the foundations have been laid for the gradual fulfillment of the long-term objectives. We must strive to further intensify the socialist character of Prague as a modern metropolis, to realize the new and modern municipal planning concepts of its development, and to create the comprehensive conditions for Prague's long-term development.

In December 1982 was the 10th anniversary of the adoption by the CPCZ Central Committee of the policy resolution that included the further development, construction and reconstruction of Prague among the priority tasks of our national economy, the fulfillment of which is the concern of the entire Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The long-term concepts of Prague's development that were adopted in 1975 and 1976--i.e., the master plan of development, the economic structure of Prague, and the territorial target plan of the capital city of Prague--have set clear long-term objectives for the principal directions of capital construction in our city, the territory of which increased in 1974 to 497 square kilometers. These objectives are being refined and specified in the individual five-year plans.

The extensive capital construction in Prague is associated with overcoming and solving numerous problems, especially important among which is the problem of satisfying the demand for housing. This demand is huge. Even though, for example, about 100,000 new housing units were built in 1970-1980, which is more



than half of all the housing units built since 1945, in Prague we still have a waiting list of more than 30,000 applicants for new housing units. Current studies on feasible alternatives for satisfying the demand for housing in our city show that if the planned volume of housing construction is maintained under the 7th Five-Year Plan and continues at the average rate in the subsequent five-year periods, then the lower limit of the demand for housing in Prague could be satisfied approximately in 1990.

A number of important investment projects have been realized within capital construction in Prague. The investment project that has been and is proceeding the most smoothly is construction of the Prague metro. It is really doing credit to its title of "Construction Project of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship." The task set by the 15th CPCZ Congress to place 20 kilometers of track in operation by the end of 1980 has been fulfilled. Further successful progress in building the metro will ensure that the total length of the metro's network will reach 30 km by the end of the 7th Five-Year Plan.

Many significant construction projects were realized in 1971-1980 within the framework of the individual ministries' capital construction. For example, the following were placed in operation: the Laktos dairy plant in Kyje, the meat packing plant in Prague-South, the transit gas pipeline's control system, the pharmaceutical production facilities of the Leciva (Pharmaceuticals) National Enterprise, the enlarged Sigma plant in Modrany, the commercial and administrative buildings of foreign-trade enterprises, the Malesice II and Holesovice III district heating plants, the Central Telecommunications Building in Prague 3, the television studio on Kavci Hora-West, the Kotva and Maj department stores, new buildings of the higher educational institutions and Czechoslovak Academy of Science, and the new construction and reconstruction at the Avia National Enterprise. With great artistic talent, space has been provided for the National Gallery in the reconstructed Jirsky and Anezsky monasteries.

Although capital construction has slowed down under the 7th Five-Year Plan in comparison with the 5th and 6th Five-Year Plans, especially in terms of new investment starts, gradual realization of the long-term concept's objectives is nevertheless continuing. According to the tasks of the current five-year plan, 48,600 new housing units are to be built, with the appropriate public facilities and utilities, within the framework of comprehensive housing construction. Simultaneously it is necessary to ensure with sufficient lead time (for the 8th, and in some instances even for the 9th Five-Year Plan, especially in the southwestern sector of the city) so-called preconditional investments. We are meeting also the new requirements and demands in conjunction with protecting available farmland, which compel us to modify some of the objectives of the master plan and territorial target plan.

Construction of the basic road system is likewise continuing. The so-called Northern Road was completed at the end of December. The first section of the so-called Southern Road also has been commissioned. The Southern Road complex is to be completed by 1985, whereby the interconnection of the D1 and D5 expressways will be fully ensured. So-called special-purpose capital construction is likewise continuing. The Palace of Culture has been added dominantly to the Prague skyline. Completion of the National Theater's reconstruction and the additional construction in its area are of statewide significance. Reopening of the reconstructed National Theater in November 1983 will also be the highlight of the Year of the Czech Theater.

A new polyclinic opened in Malesice in 1982, and this year the central polyclinic will open on Budejovicke Namesti in Prague 4. The new clinic of plastic surgery at the Faculty Hospital in Prague 10 will start operation in 1983; and the Na Proseku polyclinic, in 1984.

The following data provide some indication of the scope of capital investment in education: In 1982, 28 new kindergartens and seven grade schools were commissioned. In 1983, 23 kindergartens and another seven grade schools will be commissioned.

The complex and diverse problems of developing the city, services for the population, and the citizens' cultural and social lives are the subject of constant care on the part of the party and state organs in Prague. As confirmed also by the municipal party conference, the municipal party organization is directing its attention to the solution of primarily long-term problems that include, for example, management of the stock of housing, transportation, and protection and formation of the living environment. We cannot be satisfied with the quality of services. We are of the opinion that not much progress has been made in implementing the sound objectives and plans that circulated and were supplemented in this area. All the current and future measures in this area require conceptual and operational solutions at the level of the individual Prague districts and of the municipal organs.

The municipal party committee regards strengthening the role and increasing the responsibility of the national committees at every level as an effective way of solving problems affecting the lives of Prague residents. But the point is not only to constantly improve the work of the national committees and of all their organs and staffs, and to consistently overcome formalism and bureaucracy. At the same time it is also necessary to systematically and thoroughly influence in a positive sense the citizens' approach to the solution of many problems where the citizens' participation in the solution of the problems is not only possible but also necessary. These are two interdependent and related circles of problems.

The municipal party organization evaluates as favorable the public political atmosphere that has developed in the capital. It is characterized by the wide interest of masses of Prague residents in the basic problems of our domestic political, economic and international development. It will be necessary to direct this atmosphere toward the solution of the timely tasks, toward working creatively and with initiative, and toward consciously supporting the policy of our party.

The new, more demanding tasks require mobilizing the widest possible masses of workers, the further development of socialist democracy, its intensification and expansion, and the strengthening of civic discipline. The national committees must combat more consistently all the abuses that hamper and disrupt our work. The point is not merely to maintain order and cleanliness, no matter how important they are. Our society cannot tolerate any parasitism, speculation, bribery, often and justifiably criticized protectionism, and unlawful personal enrichment. The point is not only that these phenomena upset honest people, but also that the direct and indirect consequences of such phenomena hamper our progress. We will oppose consistently and in a principled manner all antisocial phenomena, and will call to account anyone who violates socialist legality, and the principles of the socialist moral code and discipline. Thereby we also wish

to fulfill the revolutionary heritage of the CPCZ's history: to educate man in the spirit of the socialist moral code and a high degree of civic awareness, together with the comprehensive material development of socialist society and care for raising the population's standard of living.

A part of fulfilling and developing further the revolutionary traditions of the Prague working class is also the strengthening of the international nature of the party, state and social organs and organizations' working and friendly relations with our friends and partners in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. These relations have been developing successfully for a long time. This year Prague again presented itself with the familiar Prague Days in Moscow. They not only provided an opportunity to review the results of cooperation between the two capitals in production, the arts, science and other areas, but they also contributed to the further development of cooperation and to the strengthening of internationalist ties. Relations with the capitals of the other socialist countries developed in the same direction. Both sides profit from such relations in terms of fruitful cooperation and the selfless transfer of experience and information. These relations also have exceptional international response and significance. We will see to it that there will always be heard from Prague the voice of militant solidarity with all forces waging a just struggle for peace and progress, against imperialism, colonialism, racism and social oppression of any kind.

Important meetings of scientists, artists and politicians, and symposia, conferences and congresses are traditionally held in Prague. Outstanding among the other events this year has been the Prague session of the Warsaw Pact's policy committee. It produced an important peace initiative that has met with wide response among the peace-loving forces of the entire world.

We welcome cordially and with friendship the participants of the World Rally for Peace and Life, and Against Nuclear War, which is convening this June. The efforts to unite the struggle for peace and against the threat of a nuclear war are evoking the spontaneous approval and support of the residents of our city. We support all sound ideas that lead to ensuring security in Europe and the entire world, to ending the arms race. We are proud that Prague, the capital of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, has been chosen as the site of this most representative peace rally of the defenders of peace. The proceedings of the world rally express what our people feel, and what the peace policy of the CPCZ, the countries of the socialist community, and of the Soviet Union as the foremost defender of peace in the world, is trying to accomplish. We regard the struggle for the noble ideals of mankind longing for peace as part of fulfilling the revolutionary heritage of our working class and of the entire world's revolutionary forces.

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CSO: 2400/353

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### KAPEK SPEECH TO EIGHTH PLENUM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jun 83 p 3

[Text Speech by Antonin Kapek, member, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary, Prague City CPCZ Committee at the Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee on 15-16 June]

[Text] There is no doubt that scientific-technical progress, both for strategic reasons and for managing contemporary tasks, is a key question for further development of our production forces. Progress in the building of a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia would not be possible without modernization of production forces. There is also no doubt that developing and mastering new scientific and technical knowledge cannot be realized by individual countries without international cooperation and coordination of the socialist countries associated in the CEMA.

The tasks determined in this respect at the 16th Congress were correct and are still fully valid. Unfortunately, as stated in a report of the Presidium, implementation of the results of scientific-technical development has been insufficient and slow. Our research and development [R&D], too, fail to meet quality standards and deadlines. It is clear that we must concentrate our attention on these problems and ask why we are in this situation and what can be done to change it. Answers to these questions naturally have both political and technical implications. I believe that the technical-economic implications of the problem must be worked out by the appropriate state organs. One must regret that they have failed to do so. Our role is to find out why we are in this predicament and to adopt such political directives as will guarantee timely and effective solutions. Permit me, before we adopt the political directives, to make a few remarks.

First, the logic of the problem and experience from our own management practice clearly show the need to improve the existing cooperation between science and research, on one hand, and production, on the other, and to look for new, more effective and organic forms of such cooperation. The movement from the user-customer to production and from production to research and vice versa must become a normal way of work undisturbed by ministerial interference. On all levels of management, we must encourage economic interests stimulating all working collectives toward earnest,

rational and creative research and feasible work. In order to achieve this goal, it is also necessary to secure in all types of economic production units [VHJ] and enterprises suitable organizational links between research, production and marketing. It is no accident that I speak about economic enterprises because that is where the decisive struggle for the development and application of the results of research and science in practice is taking place.

Second, we all properly ask this question: Why is there no natural hunger for the application of new production knowledge in VHJ and enterprises, why do the research institutes not use all their available creative manpower to solve the topical problems of immediate and future application? Our socialist ownership of the most important means of production creates the most suitable conditions for the rational solution of the above problems. What is not yet fully solved in practice? Matters connected with the effective economic mechanism of management, planning, financing and remuneration of these processes and organizations at the material-technical base. This base lacks, first, organizational linkage between research, production and marketing; second, medium-sized enterprises necessary to test innovations of higher levels; and, third, rationalization of workshops in individual enterprises or VHJ.

In other words, political intentions, adopted through the resolutions passed at the congress, are good and topical, but we have not been successful in relating policy statements to an effective system of economic initiatives and real interests and the necessary structure of the economic base. We must note in this area the validity of what Comrade Yuri Andropov wrote in his article entitled "Teaching of Karl Marx and Certain Questions Related to the Building of Socialism in the Soviet Union" when he quoted the statement by Marx and Engels that an "idea always suffers when divorced from reality." Hence, any political directive we adopt ought to ensure that pertinent state organs improve the economic mechanism of management, planning, financing and remuneration and gradually solve problems of an organizational nature and harmonize all this with the real economic interests of the working collectives in research, production and marketing.

Thirdly, permit me a few words about innovations and rationalization at the higher levels. Experience from certain industrially developed countries shows that, especially as far as the introduction of new products is concerned, medium-sized enterprises play a very significant role. Large enterprises must, when introducing new products, restructure vast and complex productive apparatuses which is costly in terms of money and assets and where the risk of failure leads to large losses. For these reasons, large enterprises include in their production programs mostly verified and tested innovations. Medium-sized enterprises do not incur costs and difficulties in restructuring their production apparatuses and consequently, do not run such big risks. They become the bearers of the innovation processes and apply R&D results in practice, introduce quickly new or modernized products and services and thus encourage other producers and open the way to introduction of new products in large-scale production.

Fourth, if we want to harmonize our political intentions with really effective interests it is necessary to abandon forever the illusion that R&D can be managed administratively through issuance of decrees, listing of all possible indices, counting the number of research hours, etc.

While we can delay introducing program planning and management and the related ensuing system of economic incentives in certain branches of our national economy, in the R&D area we ought to consider such a management system as absolutely obvious and indispensable. R&D is real R&D to the extent that the solutions are not known before they are tackled. Hence, we cannot use here methods we are using in the production of nuts and bolts. We must, through planning, management and financing, create the most suitable conditions for R&D work by creative workers by making it possible for them quickly and responsibly to find answers to various problems and if these answers are applicable in practice and bringing about the expected results to introduce economic incentive in the entire process. The operation of research organizations based on khozraschet principles and the management of these organizations based on the above-mentioned system are necessary prerequisites for improving the results of our R&D base.

Fifth, I think it is very important in our political management to take all necessary measures to increase the political prestige of those who do and implement our R&D progress. I see the revolutionary character of our political work in this sector in the fact that we search for, support, and promote creative workers and create the most suitable conditions for their work, not only in research, production and marketing but also in the management of the economic, political and related processes.

Creative work creates assets, spiritual riches which we often mostly ignore and do not spend much care to develop. However, we must put into our products and services a much larger degree of creative knowledge, the fruit of creative thinking. We should not draw a line in our political struggle dividing cultural and physical work. The political borderline and political struggle should be used for enlarging the sphere of creative work, both cultural and physical, in order to gradually eliminate the sphere of mechanical and repetitive work.

Harmony in creative work can be achieved everywhere in science and research, in production and management. So far, however, in our work we encounter much formalism which is a manifestation of mechanical solutions to problems or of apathy or stupidity. Creative work, linked to creative thinking, improves our approaches, our products, our management system. It can recognize what must be changed, what should be achieved and in which way and where and how we should eliminate irrational approaches. No certificate or official paper can guarantee creative work linked to creative thinking. We have, after all, many of those who possess numerous titles but who fail to deliver any creative work. At the same time, creative and noncreative work can be observed in all professions.

If our political task is to enlarge the sphere of creative work, then we must care for creative workers, see to it that they give all their ability to



the service of socialism in our country. It is necessary to be concerned about their time schedules, to create favorable conditions for their creative work, not bother them with unimportant tasks which often make no sense and are irrelevant to their work. Today, and the same applies for the future, creative work develops in the working collectives. To create good conditions for creative work means to politically take care to have a good atmosphere for work and initiatives in individual collectives. Working collectives, in both basic and applied research, are the basic link where the struggle to implement in practice the results of science and technology takes the final form. Hence, we will emphasize the need to find answers to questions related to improving the role of the working collectives in implementing the results of science and technology. In other words, in both basic and applied research we need the collectives of creative workers who are able to do something new; we do not need those who need a major part of their limited energy to explain that they did not or were unable to do anything new.

In our political management we must concentrate on recruiting executive and management technical-economic intelligentsia in both research and production who would be ready to grow and be able to put the results of science and technology into practice. We must be aware that this is an indispensable prerequisite for our future steps forward. In fulfilling this task, all party organs and organizations will play a decisive role. I would especially like to emphasize the role of the basic party organizations. If we persuade the devoted party functionaries about the need to create a political environment for creative work, for the creative ability of the technical-economic intelligentsia in this sector, we can achieve a gradual but permanent turning point in our attitude toward science and technology. Party leadership, especially in ideological and mass political work, should lead to the creation of a natural desire to master and use the results of science and technology. Hence, we must win over the majority of the working class and other working people because this is a significant political prerequisite for further growth of labor productivity which is, as is well known, according to Lenin the decisive factor in our final victory over capitalism. Without mastering new technology, further quality improvement in labor productivity and the consequent solution of social problems and further growth of the standard of living would not be possible, not to speak about high international political significance, because in practice mastering the results of science and technology also will multiply our strength, our overall policy, including our policy of struggle for peace, democracy and progress. The goal of our political work in this sector is to encourage and politically guide the mass march toward developing and mastering everything which furthers the technical and economic level of our production.

1277

CSO: 2400/351

## PRESSURE ON CATHOLIC CHURCH CONTINUES

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 3/4 Jul 83 pp 3, 4

[Text] Prague, end of June--Prague government representatives are giving assurances that the conflict between the Catholic Church and the State in Czechoslovakia is essentially a fabrication of the Western press, that in fact, even though there are differences of opinions, there still exists a basis for dialog between the government and the church hierarchy. Influential representatives of the church, however, seem to see things in a different light. This year e.g., reports say, only 50 to 90 applicants were admitted to the theological seminary and, already at the beginning of the year, Cardinal Tomasek specifically abolished the function of KATOLICKE NOVINY (Catholic News) as an official church newspaper. The reason for this action is that KATOLICKE NOVINY printed New Year's greetings of the priests association "Pacem in Terris" which is loyal to the regime and forbidden by the church. The newspaper thereby proved its willingness to cooperate with government policies.

The appearance of the Cardinal and Archbishop of Prague at the most recent "world conference against nuclear war" must also be seen in this light. The actual text of his speech is now available. At the beginning, Tomasek spoke against nuclear war as well as any other kind of war. Later on in the speech, he also objected to any kind of material and spiritual oppression of individuals as well as population groups. Referring to statements by Pope John XXIII, he said that peace remains an empty word if it does not develop within a system built upon truth and justice. He who neglects truth in the interest of propaganda threatens peace, and so does he who disregards basic human freedoms, including the freedom of religion and justice. Without peace in small contexts there can be no peace in larger contexts.

In this way Cardinal Tomasek presented in the language of theology the ideas advanced by "Charter 77." Prague civil rights activists who were not admitted to the peace conference based their position, as is reported, on the opinion that a just social order must be the basis of peaceful cooperation between nations. By referring to the peace policies of former rulers of Bohemia, the Cardinal gave his remarks a historical dimension. As fighters for a social and world order based upon justice and Christianity he mentioned Saint Wenceslas, the Duke of Bohemia, Emperor Charles IV and King George of Podjebrad. In the times of Charles IV Prague was not only the geographic but also the cultural and spiritual center of Europe. In this courageous address there are unmistakable parallels between the words of Tomasek and those of John Paul II during his visit to Poland.



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PARTY COLLEGE RECTOR'S RETIREMENT, SUCCESSOR'S BACKGROUND REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Jun 83 p 4

['Politics' feature article signed 'Ws,' datelined Berlin, 22 June: "Many Functionaries Were Molded by Hanna Wolf--Rector of SED's Party College Retires from Office"]

[Text] One of the longest-serving leading personalities of the SED, the 75-year-old Hanna Wolf, has just been released from her job. Professor Hanna Wolf had headed, as rector, the "Karl Marx" Party College of the SED Central Committee since 1950. This highest party-owned training institution serves for the training and postgraduate training of the leading cadres of the SED. Most of the graduates have already held important positions in the party apparatus and have already attended a party school at the Kreis or Bezirk level. Whoever completes the "Karl Marx" Party College--among the possibilities are a four-year direct course, a correspondence course, and participation in lecture cycles of the party academic year for top officials--has, so to speak, received the highest ordination of the party, and is destined for important and even the highest positions in the party and state apparatus. Almost the whole corps of senior officials active in the GDR state and party today have been--insofar as they have not been trained in the Soviet Union--trained by the "Karl Marx" Party College and hence by Hanna Wolf.

This quarrelsome old Communist, who has born into a bourgeois family, joined the Communist Youth Organization in 1922 and the CPG [Communist Party of Germany] in 1930, and is a teacher by profession. She emigrated to the Soviet Union in 1933, where she was a teacher at the Krasnogorsk Central School during the Second World War. At that time she made a considerable contribution to the fact that "many Germans misled by fascism began a process of rethinking and again saw a prospect for their further life," as Honecker testified on her 75th birthday in February of this year. Right after the end of the war Hanna Wolf returned to Germany, where she then worked in the German Central Administration for Education. When in the middle of 1950 Ulbricht became general secretary of the SED, Hanna Wolf took over the job of rector in the "Karl Marx" Party College, which under her leadership received formal academic status and the right to confer degrees. (After examination graduates receive the degree of "graduate social scientist"). In the abovementioned address by Honecker on the occasion of

her 75th birthday he wrote: "Under your leadership thousands of cadres of our party have been trained at the "Karl Marx" Party College. Their activity has been distinguished by strict observance of the unity of science, party-mindedness and adherence to principle. They are ready and able to fight successfully for the fulfillment of the decisions of our party."

Replacing Hanna Wolf, who has been a member of the Central Committee of the SED, and about whom it was said that even Ulbricht feared her, Kurt Tiedke, who has served since February 1979 as 1st secretary of the Magdeburg SED bezirk leadership, assumes the position of rector of the "Karl Marx" Party College. The 59-year-old trained surveyor prepared systematically for this job. At the end of the 1940's he was 2nd secretary of the SED Seelow kreis leadership. From 1950 to 1951 he attended the "Karl Marx" Party College, at which, between 1951 and 1960 he was an instructor, an assistant professor, and professor. From 1963 to 1967 he was a candidate, and since then a member of the Central Committee of the SED.

Tiedke's successor as head of the SED Magdeburg bezirk leadership is 64-year-old Werner Eberlein, also a graduate of the "Karl Marx" Party College and a graduate social scientist. The son of the top Communist official Hugo Eberlein, trained as an electrician and a journalist, emigrated with his parents in 1934 to the Soviet Union, whence he returned in 1948 to Germany. He became editor of the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and for a time headed the economic section. Since 1959--when he became a member of the Agitation Committee of the SED Politburo--Eberlein has been a senior collaborator of the Central Committee of the SED. Since 1964 he was deputy chief of the party organ section of the Central Committee of the SED, from 1971 to 1981 a member of the central auditing commission of the SED. Since the 10th Party Congress (June 1981) Eberlein has been a member of the Central Committee of the SED.

6108

CSO: 2300/294

PROVINCIAL WORKERS PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Workers Support at Construction Machinery Plant

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 4 Mar 83 pp 1, 8-9

[Article by Grazyna Zwolinska: "Who Supports the Committee: From the Reporter's Notebook at the FADROMA Construction Machinery Factory"]

[Text] 1. "Hey, what's the gimmick?" I think to myself on listening to one FADROMA worker after another say that he supports the secretary and the party at the factory. This was said chiefly by non-party members (the regular ones plus those who have quitted the party). And a lathe operator from W-2, who declared that he is called an "extremist," claimed that now the party at the factory is "perfect" and, without being asked, told me his name for publication: Karol Wolkowicz.

"A miracle? And where at that? At the Wroclaw FADROMA. Who would believe me?" So I thought on jotting down the comments of workers from various departments. After all, FADROMA is the bastion of activists from Mazowiecka Street, their proving grounds. It was here that referendums were organized and the party was to be pushed out of the factory. It was here that party-member workers were promised that they would be made to eat their red [party identity] cards, pointed out with fingers and subjected to verbal abuse. Any method, even urinating into lockers, was good for moral destruction. And now some of those who had made such clamor say that they support the party. Of course, not all. The situation is not and for a long time will not be that much pink. At the factory some flyers appear now and then. There is also a group of intransigents who know what they are doing. And since there is still no lack of irregularities at the factory and in the country, they have something to base their arguments on (though their arguments against the concept of return to normalcy are weaker). It was they precisely who held the upper reins at the factory for many months.

2. Stereotypes are most difficult to combat. In the 1970s it used to be said that the workforces completely support the plant party committees. This had been a convenient fiction. Later a different stereotype was mandatory: it was proclaimed that all working people are against the party and for Solidarity. The farther August 1980 receded and the closer December 1981 came, the more this ceased to be so unequivocal. Nowadays, as the underground claims, the situation at the factory is such that the plant party committee and its secretary exist but they are completely isolated from the workforce, boycotted, supported only by the management and dreading to show their faces outside their office. Does this happen in some places? Of course, it does and no commonsensical person will deny this. Except that, contrary to what the underground claims, this does not have to be so at all. Not even in such plants as FADROMA.

3. Since May of last year there has been a new party secretary, Zbigniew Mistrzak, at FADROMA. He is one of those "suicidal types" who during the Solidarity era had the courage to speak on their own. At the time, he had worked as an electrician at W-4. He saw how people broke down. And today, too, besides, strong pressures are exerted on those who want to think differently. It is not so difficult to "deserve" suitable graffiti on one's locker. But nevertheless people, or at least some of them, are beginning to say aloud things which somehow do not fit the contents of the flyers. Hence the surprise accompanying my visit to the factory halls.

4. In W-4 I approached one of the welders. Soon another joins us. A third person, a fitter, approaches us from his somewhat distant work station. They all are non-party members. One of them had been active in Solidarity, while another resigned from the party as far back as in 1970. And what did they tell me? "Finally, somebody is around who attends to our problems. Now the party is doing truly effective work at the factory. And this renewal is already somewhat tangible. Sure, much can still be improved at our factory, but the possibilities are here. That party secretary has worked in a shop for many years. He has a feel for our problems. He doesn't need long explanations. If we need help, we go to him, because we trust him. We know that he will attend to the matter."

I interrupted them: "But if I publish this, people will say that this is pure propaganda."

The man who had been active in Solidarity insists: "But that's the truth."

I asked: "But what have that secretary and the plant party committee done?"

"For example, there was the purge of the canteen, where we had been witnessing with our own eyes swindles and thefts going on. Everyone saw this and somehow couldn't do anything about it. When the secretary tackled it, he at once brought order into things. He replaced the head of the appetizers section, a woman who had until then been unbudgeable.

"Or there were those bonuses which they wanted to cheat us of. The factory director himself determined them, without consulting the brigade leaders. He determined their amounts unjustly. Then we went in a crowd to the party committee. And the matter was resolved."

"The party secretary also takes an interest in the new wage system. Because wages here are a problem. In the plants in our environs, at the HUTMEN Non-Ferrous Metals Smelter and Processing Plant, the PAFAWAG State Railroad Car Factory and the DOLMEL [expansion unknown] people doing the same jobs earn a couple of thousand zlotys more per month. There was a meeting on this topic. The factory director and party secretary came. We cannot remain at the tail-end, because people are leaving the factory. Our department alone is short of 28 workers. Perhaps some of the clerical personnel could be shifted to blue-collar jobs?"

I asked: "This has been discussed for years. But who is to attend to it so as to make it succeed?"

"The secretary and the entire plant party committee--above all. We'll support him."

"Couldn't really these matters have been settled by anyone before, not even by Solidarity?"

"Not even. At the outset our plant commission had been ideal. We had thought that it would finally bring order into things. But later its members began to be concerned mostly about their own earnings. They didn't give a damn about us."

"And you're not afraid to speak thus to a newspaper reporter?"

"It's all true. And we'll not conceal our names: Wladyslaw Matys, welder, and Jozef Szymanski, also welder."

(The third man, the one who had been active in Solidarity, wouldn't give his name. "I've my reasons," he said.

Then came yet another welder from W-3. Essentially he said the same thing as the others. He also mentioned that in the martial law era some directors became too much enthused with one-man management. They ignore the opinion of workers. And there is neither self-government nor a trade union.

"Hold it," I interrupted him. "But there already are trade unions in your factory."

"Yes, to be sure, but they aren't yet strong. They've too few members."

"Are you a member?"

"Me? No. People got burned when there were boycotts before, so now one waits and sees. Here everyone says: let the unions show their stuff first. Besides, nowadays belonging to a union means being between hammer and anvil. I'm not that bold."

"And could I publish your name in the newspaper?"

"O, no. I already said that I'm not so bold. There still are some people who could make me pay for it."

Brigade leader Tadeusz Buczkowski from W-4 decides to permit his name to be published in the newspaper and to quote him as believing that something must be done about the proportions between workers engaged directly in production and other employees. For example, his brigade consists of seven workers plus a cart pusher, a distributor, a planner, a foreman and an inspector. This superstructure is too big. He thus believes that people will support the party secretary when he will tackle these matters.

5. I also spoke with Karol Wolkowicz, the person mentioned at the beginning of this article, a lathe operator from W-2. He said: "I'm for justice. So when I see that things are improving, why shouldn't I admit it? Now the party is doing something for all, and not just for its own, at our factory. Especially Mistrzak is doing a lot. He wants to combat loafers and achieve the proper proportions between the workers and the administrative staff. And when I don't like something, I say so. I can't agree with the reasons why some people have been discharged from their jobs. A co-worker of mine has been discharged. He had

worked for 15 years. They found a pretext for firing him when he showed up for work in a tipsy condition. But it was for political reasons that they fired him. At least they let him formally resign. He was a good skilled worker and now he has been replaced by a young greenhorn. But back to the secretary: I can speak of him much more well than of his predecessor. Are you surprised that I, an extremist, speak thus? I'm known here for speaking the truth and my friends won't give me a dirty look because of what I said. As for my view of the committee, they'll support me, even if some won't. People are beginning to see things differently. Not all want to admit it yet."

6. Finally I met a party-member worker. What makes it more ridiculous, it's precisely he who is reluctant to talk with me and, the more so, refuses to give his name for the record. "Again there'll be graffitti, boos, fingers pointing at me in the factory room, and I'll be called a stool pigeon and the like." It can be seen that the last 2 years have not been a rose garden to him. After a while he adds a couple of sentences about wages, that they have to be brought into order. Because it is not right when salaried workers who have the time to play checkers should earn more than pieceworkers who must moreover, "If you'll permit me to say so, toil as if they had burrs under their tails."

The next party member I met agreed to talk. He stood in front of his locker, which bears traces of many partly erased graffitti (which can be readily guessed). He is a boring machine operator at the tool shop and at the same time a member of the executive board of the plant party committee. His name is Roman Jurkiewicz. "What are people like now? They differ. How well are they informed about the initiatives of the plant party organization? Who wants to know, knows. Others can be told and shown, but they will not notice, because they don't want to. There also are some who persuade others to idle on the job and paint graffitti on lockers. After all here we all know each other and know what everyone is doing. The management knows, too. It is most difficult to talk with those who had been interned. Over there [in internment camps] they graduated from a good school of opposition, unfortunately. Some of them, in their turn, completely opted out and there is no way of establishing any contact with them. As far as the party organization is concerned, it is working on many matters. The management is not doing everything, although it must be admitted that it is improving. For example, its contact with the party executive board is closer. Besides, managerial personnel attend our meetings much more often now. Recently everyone has been talking on the subject of wages. The management pledged itself to the workforce to bring order into this matter. The wage increases will not be undeserved, because the plant has been operating pretty well. Our exports have increased 200 percent. My friends in other plants earn more. At our factory the wage revisions in 1981 had been overlooked. Nearly 7 million zlotys, which could have been spent on wage increases, was ultimately transferred to another fund. That's why we are so far behind."

In W-4 I talk with the brigade of Ryszard Dzielicki. We discuss the overstaffed administration, the housing problems and the question of whether it would be better to import ready-made tires from Japan or acquire components from the STOMIL Tire Plant for FADROMA's machinery. We also discuss the toleration of drunkenness at the factory as combined with adherence to formal discipline (God forbid if one is a couple of minutes late). And we also discuss whether it pays to work well. The party secretary stands nearby and joins in the discussion. What a sight at FADROMA!



7. At this factory the party committee regards two issues as the most important: isolating the workers from the influence of the extremists at the factory and breaking up the bureaucratic cliques which began to revive in the expectation of impunity following the introduction of the martial law. The resolution of these two issues was to open the road for the most important thing: building up bonds with the workforce, finding a common language. This had to be preceded by more or less popular decisions. For example, last December the management discharged five persons. This was the most controversial decision. It was immediately exploited in the flyer "From Day to Day," which reported that this had prompted the outbreak of a strike at the factory, in which more than 60 percent of the workforce took part. "Sixty percent is a great exaggeration, although the occasion for stirring up people was exploited. The fact is the fact," the party secretary said.

"We spend half of our life at the factory," he argued. "So we have to bring order into things here, and rapidly at that. When there is an issue, it has to be settled. Because people are impatient; they don't want for the scheduled arrangements to take place. Consider that canteen issue, for example. That had involved a clique consisting of the head of the social services department and the head of the appetizers section....Solidarity had tried to do something about it, but in the end it itself began to lean in favor of such a division of goods. When I first became party secretary, I only looked on for a time. I've been working here for 18 years and I know what goes on here. Once I became absolutely certain, I waited only for concrete and recent proof. Soon I found it. I was informed that portions of chicken soup were regularly missing. They had been delivered to the factory but were unavailable at the kiosk. I checked with the department of social services and received confirmation that the chicken soup should have been there. The next day I convened a plenum upon inviting an employee of the appetizers section whom the section's head had been trying to discharge because she refused to accept "the arrangement." Attempts were made to torpedo the plenum. Ultimately, however, the director of the social services department was removed from membership in the executive board of the plant party committee. His recommendation was unanimously withdrawn, and subsequently he had to relinquish his post. The head of the appetizers section was also replaced. When the plenum's resolution was posted on the bulletin board, a crowd gathered, because breaking up that clique produced a kind of local sensation. In this matter as party organization we had the support of the entire workforce.

"Then there was the question of a bonus at W-3. Last December the director distributed it without any prior consultation. No list of names was posted either. One-half of the bonus fund for the department was allotted to the plant party committee. I got hold of the list. If people had seen those notations on the margin adding a thousand or two here and there, they would have been really furious. We held a meeting at the department. It was a clamorous meeting. The factory director was stubborn. I too spoke out strongly. But nothing was decided at the time. Had the situation remained thus, a commission would have to be appointed for distributing the bonuses. However, the next day the director decided to take under consideration the workforce's comments. The director is not a party member: he had surrendered his party identity card during the surge of enthusiasm for Solidarity. He is a fine expert, to be sure, but a factory director is also expected to treat people properly. At W-3 there is no branch party organization: it had existed once but it collapsed. Most of the surrenders of party cards occurred at the time when the director had surrendered his card. Now we are setting up a new organization there.

"We also began to attend to labor-saving suggestions. On our initiative, a special commission examined the suggestions made in the last 2 years and looked up those unjustly rejected: they were implemented. This saved some 15 or so million zlotys and provided the funds for rewarding the suggestion-makers."

We discuss many other things as well, e.g. the proportions between blue- and white-collar employees. Suffice it to mention that in 1979 the numerical proportion of white-collar employees and those indirectly engaged in production to the 550 employees directly engaged in production was the same as at present. And yet at present there are only 350 employees directly engaged in production. How can this be changed? Will the plant party committee succeed in this? This could be a task for the worker self-government. So far, the party secretary has assurances from production workers that they will support his actions.

8. Now here is the most surprising thing I found at FADROMA: the fact that there is room for action by the plant party committee, which is supported by the workers, precisely here in this factory, in this bastion of the most extremist activists of the regional Solidarity.

Of course, the party secretary keeps stressing that this is only the beginning, that the road to complete trust and support is still long. Even now, however, one can see for oneself that there is neither isolation nor boycott here. Even though part of the workforce continues to be a resolute "nay-sayer."

The secretary does not cultivate flowerpots in his office. He is not merely waiting for any possible visitors. Because he is aware that many will not come, not only because they are "against," but because they still fear pressure from their surroundings. He tries to visit the factory departments as often as possible because, in his opinion, this is the best way of finding out about human problems.

#### Situation at End of Reports-Programs Campaign

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 9 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[PAP communique: "Not Only Work Better But Know More: It is Difficult to Establish Rapport Through Promises of Hard Work Only" under the rubric "Situation at the Party Following the Reports-Programs Campaign"]

[Text] On 8 [Mar 83] at the Press Center of the Interpress Press Agency in Warsaw Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Kazimierz Cypryński, director of the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, met with foreign journalists. The press conference was chiefly devoted to the situation within the party following the recent reports-programs campaign.

The Central Committee secretary declared that the main purpose of the party-wide debate was to check up on the implementation of the resolution of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress. A review of forces was carried out and the state and condition of the party at all of its organizational levels were evaluated. The course of the discussions generally confirmed the correctness of the course laid down by the 9th Congress. The Central Committee secretary recalled the principal planks of the congress program because--as he stated--that program has not fully reached the public as well as those who are interested in our country.



Soon after the 9th Congress was over, the political enemies did a great deal to blur the historic significance of its resolutions. This was dictated by the fact that they themselves lacked any positive program of action.

Jan Glowczyk declared that the reports campaign has shown that the party is now much more active compared with the pre-congress period and the period immediately following it. "This finding does not mean, however, that the present situation within the party is satisfactory to us."

The party has in recent months consolidated its ranks and strengthened ideological identity, which served to slowly rebuild effectiveness of action. The Central Committee secretary emphasized that the completed reports-programs campaign had also contributed to improving the quality of party ranks, while somewhat reducing them. Ideologically alien individuals could thus be eliminated from the party. In an earlier period their activities had been attracting a large part of attention to intra-party matters. The campaign also provided a lesson in criticism and self-criticism. It was universally stressed that "hard truth" is better than "sweet fraud."

The speaker expounded the thesis that, on the soil of struggle and national accord, the party will attract to its program all those who are not against the PZPR. Practice has shown that in the earlier period not all party members had withstood public pressure and conflictsituations--that, in effect, they left the party.

Jan Glowczyk and Kazimierz Cypryński answered many specific questions. Their answers stated that among other things, the party's goals as outlined by the 9th Congress have remained unchanged. The Central Committee secretary stressed, however, that recently we have had too little time to improve the political and ideological awareness of party members. These problems will be the topic of, among other things, a PZPR Central Committee plenum. Party members should not only work better but also know more. Another essential task is to combat manifestations of social pathology.

One of the questions concerned the effectiveness of propaganda. Jan Glowczyk declared that he is "constantly dissatisfied by propaganda." Not because journalists work badly, but because it is difficult to reach people by promising them chiefly hard work. This requires new qualifications from editorial teams and individual journalists. The Central Committee secretary stated, however, that the scope and speed of information have markedly improved. One cannot be fully satisfied, however with the consultational role of the mass media.

At the conference mention was also made of the developmental prospects of trade unions and the future of agriculture in the context of the joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party, as well as of the situation within the press.

#### Recommendations on Reform Status

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 21 Mar 83 pp 1,4

[Article by Wiesław Wesolowski, Regular Warsaw representative of 'TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA': "Conclusions from the 'Report on the State of the Reform': Wherever

Workers Know How Much They Earn and For What, Ordering the Economy Finds Many Supporters"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Wladyslaw Baka, professor and minister, described at last Saturday's conference in the Government Press Office the course of the session of the Council of Ministers which discussed the already famous "Report on the State of the Reform," and thereupon answered numerous questions.

Following the tumultuous--as W. Baka stated--all-day debates replete with verbal clashes among discussants, /the Council of Ministers agreed on the recommendation that the reform is passing the test./ In spite of everything, its principles are proving to be valid and practice confirms that the right road has been chosen. We halted the economic decline and since last August reversed it, and all this is happening under exceptionally difficult conditions, in the presence of a declining supply of materials which in some subsectors reaches several score percent. A turnabout in personnel attitudes can be observed: /plant directors are beginning to avail themselves of the opportunities afforded by enterprise autonomy. This represents a new aspect/ of the reform process, which augurs well for the future. This makes all the more ridiculous the rumors, resolutely denied by the minister, about the alleged intentions to abandon some of the basic solutions: /there is no turning back from the reform,/ because that would have been a defeat with worse consequences than those of the economic crisis. But /this political will to continue the changes/ does not at all mean that the economy can be changed without allowing for modifications and revisions suggested by life itself, by the situation. Such complementary changes are to be expected following the--open and publicized--discussion of the Report and its consideration by the Parliament, probably toward the end of May and the beginning of June.

The government plenipotentiary minister W. Baka specified the /principal domains in which the reform has produced no improvement./ They are: first, the /sphere of employment./ The professor stated: "We had commenced the reform in the conviction of a threat of unemployment, this being the reason why, among other things, a decree on earlier old-age retirement was issued and the Vocational Activization Fund [FAZ] had been established to protect the employed against mass dismissals. We miscalculated--and critical conclusions have already been inferred from this. On the recommendation of the Council of Ministers, the Report was complemented in its part concerning the critical appraisal of these and other shortcomings. Secondly, the reform did not prove sufficiently effective in counteracting /the deterioration in the quality of products./ Thirdly, and lastly, the /income-shaping controls/ were too weak: enterprise incomes have exceeded the justified level. Even so, last year the cosmic nonsense represented by the deficit of the entire industry in 1981 was eliminated. However, last year's lesson was not wasted: economic controls are being strengthened and loopholes eliminated.

"The persons directing the reform are fully aware that it has in no way benefited part of the society and that some again believe that the reform means chaos, price rises, perils and injustice. Even if allowance is made for misconceptions and blaming the consequences of the crisis on the activities intended for economic recovery, some people, including economists as well, are disappointed because they had been counting on the reform to produce rapid and tangible effects--although no one has ever promised that. Moreover, those

employees whom the reform has not reached owing to incompetent administration also did not believe in the reform. /Wherever workers know how much they earn and for what, the reform finds many supporters./"

The conclusions for the immediate future are unambiguous: /elementary order should be brought into enterprises,/ with control and accounting to be restored wherever the situation is disorganized; /cost accounting should be brought into order/ as it must be crystal-clear. Further, every effort should be made to /master inflation and restore the market equilibrium./

The third conclusion mentioned by the minister was the need to streamline the entire administration, to assure its /unequivocal/ support of the reform. A special procedure is to be instituted in order to prevent the issuance of ministerial decisions conflicting with the reform.

#### Workers Concerning Polish Crises

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 14 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[PAP communique: "Workers Comment on Polish Crises: H. Kubiak at the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant"]

[Text] "It so happened in People's Poland that the working class has not created its own system of values and instead adopted models foreign to it as a class. The aim of life became money-making, while work, good work, as a goal has lost in importance and value. This is precisely to be viewed as the wellspring of the moral crisis which has spread through Polish society and originated the subsequent social, political and economic crises. Yes, we wanted to build socialism, but for ourselves, not for all. And as part of this constant creation for ourselves alone, we adopted possessions rather than abilities as the yardstick for measuring a man. To us the important thing became not man himself but his wealth or connections."

/These severe words were uttered by members of the party organization at the Krakow Lenin Metallurgical Combine during a meeting organized there on 13 [April 1983] with Prof Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee./ [printed in boldface] At that that meeting, which was in the nature of a consultation prior to the 12th party Central Committee Plenum, a briefing was provided about the results of the activities of commission for investigating the causes of the crises, appointed by the 9th Extraordinary Congress.

It was found that Polish crises may differ from each other in their specific features but all have two traits in common. In every individual case their basis originated from the disruption of bonds between the party and the working class, and the political enemy has always been trying to exploit this fact. The participants in the meeting stressed: "We can't fulfill our task as a party unless we are daily among the working class, among real people. The other common trait of the crisis has been violations of the principles of democratic centralism in favor of replacing them with centralism. At the meeting it was stressed that we must pulse with real life, while at the same time pointing out that this postulate, while just, is extremely difficult in the day-by-day practice of political life. It is much easier to set down the law than to obey it--the discussion participants observed.

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CSO: 2600/832

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Trade Unions in Social Landscape

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 15 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Maria Kedzierska: "Trade Unions in Social Landscape"]

[Text] So now trade unions have become a real fact. A plaque with the inscription "Independent Self-Governing Trade Union" or "Trade Union" or "Union of Polish Teachers" is no longer a special event. It can be seen at numerous plants. Barely six weeks or a month ago plant telephone switchboard operators would be astonished when a caller would ask to talk to a trade union. Today such requests generally are not surprising. The word "trade union" is taking ever deeper root in plant director reports on plant activities. The directors stress "I consulted the trade union about it."

Numerical Differentiation

Of course, the situation differs in different work establishments. At the present stage the principal factor in that differentiation is the size of the membership of individual unions and its proportion to the workforce.

As across the nation, in the three provinces of our region trade unions already have a fairly large membership, with some having 1,000 members (Bydgoszcz Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plant [ZNTK]) and others close to or more than 1,500 members (trade unions of Polish teachers in Bydgoszcz, Torun, Wloclawek) or ranging at 2,000 (the Grudziadz STOMIL Rubber Industry Works). The members of these unions account for from 20-odd to 30-odd percent of the local workforces. However, the average indicator is lower. It can be said that at present forced efforts--characteristic of the start of many trade unions--are being made to reach the boundary of 10 percent of the workforce in order to achieve a size of membership large enough to organize trade unions. For example, this boundary was crossed by trade unions in such important plants as the PREDOM-ROMET Bicycle Works and the FORMET Automatic Press Factory in Bydgoszcz as well as the Pomeranian Foundry and Enameling Factory in Grudziadz. It is being reached by the trade union at the TOWIMOR Torun Ship Equipment Repair Works in Torun. At the same time, there exist plants at which that 10 percent is still a distant prospect--e.g. the AZOTY Nitrogen Works in Wloclawek, the ELANA Synthetic Fibers Mill in Torun and the ZACHEM Chemical Works in Bydgoszcz.

In sum, the situation is normal. After all, no one has been deluding himself that an immediate and huge wave of people will want to join the new unions. The

reasons are well-known. It is also known that abolishing the barriers of detachment and mistrust as well as isolating the hostility that has more than once been displayed in a sharp and nasty manner will hinge on the manner in which the Parliament's decree on trade unions is translated into reality. At any rate, no one is rushing or interfering into this process which we are witnessing and which is so important to the country.

#### What About the Workers?

In the course of my journalistic inquiries I recently heard the assertion that, more or less...workers flock to trade unions to a much smaller degree than other social groups, e.g. teachers. After all, what in general do they have to lose?

The first part of this assertion is too hasty and the second, simply misleading. Let me start with that second part. "Nothing to lose" is a phrase borrowed from the "Communist Manifesto" and pertaining to a different reality that absolutely cannot be compared with our present-day reality and the situation of workers in it. The "Manifesto" after all concerned the reality of the unusually brutal 19th-century capitalist exploitation that had then been completely unrestricted. Today Polish workers have a lot to lose--socialism, in which they represent such a significant force; Poland; peace!

What about the first part of that gravely negative appraisal? It is a fact that in this third month of the existence of trade unions a definite majority of workers still have not joined them. But it is also a fact that even where the membership of the unions is small (e.g. the UNITA-ELTRA [expansion unknown] Plant in Bydgoszcz), a definite majority of the members are workers. It is they who were or are active in union founding committees and it is they to whom election meetings or conferences particularly often entrust the leading posts. The union chairman at FORMET is a tool fitter; at the ZNTK, a lathe operator; at the Grudziadz Rubber Industry Works, an electrician; at the Bydgoszcz BELMA [expansion unknown], an installer-foreman. The union-founding committee at the Wloclawek AZOTY is directed by a foreman from the chlorine department. I recently observed the chairmen of department trade-union groups at the Bydgoszcz ZNTK--as they were gathering for their weekly conference--they were workers from the very thick of production!

These activists include members of the former Solidarity and former subsector trade unions. It is characteristic that quite a few of them passed through the stage of activism in the plant social services commissions established in the early martial law era. In those commissions they dealt with dozens of various human problems and troubles and misfortunes, too, as well as with the need to intervene, provide aid, and object to particular decisions or measures. This made evident to them the need for a trade union, the need to agree to what is being established. I heard this justification repeatedly--in three instances from the current trade union chairmen in large-industry plants who had previously belonged to the plant leadership of the former Solidarity.

#### Under Observation by the Workforce

Wherever the trade unions already exist, they count to the plant management, which even displays some readiness to agree to the opinions they offer. The unions themselves are ebullient--they are directed generally by new energetic individuals, often young. They know that the workforces are watching them. It

is important to them to prove their mettle. If they pass the test, this will affect the future size of their membership, which after all is an important foundation for their authentic strength and authority. Authority not only with the workforce but also with the management and the worker self-government.

Yes, precisely, the worker self-government. Based on more than one observation, I can hazard the statement that this plane of trade-union partnership is yet to be fully established and in many cases it still is to be shaped. The latter does not at all apply only to plants in which elections to the self-government are still being prepared (e.g. the Wloclawek AZOTY). It also applies to plants in which the worker self-government--elected prior to December 1982--already exists but the contacts of trade unions are limited to the management. Is this due to lack of habits and experience by both parties? Surely! Although sometimes it is the heads of the worker self-government who deliberately keep their distance from the trade unions!

The first experiences of the new unions point to emerging views on a topic that is extremely sensitive in view of our recent Polish experience--the relationship between the trade union and the plant's production performance. Generally, this topic is rather not discussed. But in two of our unions--numerically strong and operating in production plants with long traditions--this topic did arise.

At the Bydgoszcz ZNTK the trade union actively promoted tightening labor discipline and combatting waste. Its officers, workers themselves, did so for two reasons: first, because the requests for intervention made to the union indicate that it is precisely any manifestation of sloppiness and poor management that agitates people; secondly, there is the conviction that production and its increase are after all the main road toward restoring to working people the living standards they had in the past as well as, of course, toward further raising them.

At the Grudziadz Rubber Industry Works [GZPG] the issue of "work" was raised in conference discussion. The need to restore dignity to attitudes of honest work and their bearers was mentioned. A female discussant also voiced the opinion that the reactivation of an astutely organized labor competition should be considered.

At the ZNTK and the GZPG the problem appeared in a direct form--in the dimension of principles of action, so to speak. But it turns out that, now that enterprises are autonomous and self-financing, this problem also concerns other aspects of trade-union activity. The unions recently opined on the division of the plant fund for social services. The scale of needs was large and a great deal of "dexterity" was required to meet them equitably without preferring some to others. Thus, maximizing this fund for distribution became a matter of concern to the trade union.

#### Shifting the Center of Gravity

Thus, problems of merit-based activity are producing an increasingly greater imprint on the current stage of the organization of trade unions. This is also confirmed by the experience of the province information-advisory teams for trade union affairs.

The Bydgoszcz team had until recently consisted of lawyers alone. For previously it chiefly answered requests for explanation and interpretation of the decree on



trade unions, the procedure for organizing and registering trade unions, etc. Now the team has been complemented with civic-minded volunteers committed to trade-union work. Requests for advice on practical activities of trade union have--according to the team--begun to be asked and are becoming the principal type of requests.

### Gradually People Joining New Unions

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 22 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by W. Szczupak: "Prejudices Are Slowly Disappearing--People Are Coming to the New Trade Union: At the Debice STOMIL [Rubber Industry Works]"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] The loudspeakers blare a fragment of the program on trade unions broadcast by the radio station at the Debice STOMIL Automotive Tire Works. It says: /"But the main task of our union will be to assure a just division of the funds earned by the workforce./" Recently--on 25 February of this year--a report-election conference of the Independent Trade Unions of Employees [NSZZ] of the STOMIL Rubber Industry Works [DZOS] was held at the plant's "Kosmos" House of Culture.

### Before Elections Were Possible

The organizational preparations lasted nearly 3 months. Several weeks after the PRL Parliament had voted the decree of 8 October on trade unions, a 78-person initiating group was formed at STOMIL. It included members of the former trade unions, both Solidarity and branch unions. It consisted of workers, administrative employees, party members and non-party members. They were joined by the conviction that restoring the trade union, which is the defender of the rights and interests of employees, is worthwhile and necessary. Within the elected eight-member Founding Committee a group of three persons began to prepare the draft of a statute even before the model draft prepared by the Public Advisory Commission had been published. After it was amended by members of the Founding Committee, the draft statute was broadcast by the plant's radio station and presented at employee meetings in individual departments.

During discussion of the statute the issue of benefits was most controversial. In effect, of the two alternative solutions drafted, the one specifying a higher ceiling on benefits was adopted.

On 23 November 1982 the Independent Self-Governing Union of Employees of the STOMIL Rubber Industry Works [DZOS] in Debice was entered in the registry under the number 1/82. On 10 January of this year, at the first general meeting of members of the NSZZ of DZOS Employees, the Founding Committee was placed under the obligation of conducting briefing meetings in individual departments and convening a report-election meeting. It was also established that existing seniority of union membership will be credited to all those who join the new union by 31 March of this year.

Wladyslaw Ciebien reminisced: /"This decision upset a large part of the workforce. People clamored for a postponement of the deadline, arguing that this didn't leave them enough time to think it over. But the conference adhered to the deadline, while at the same time placing the Plant Board under the obligation of keeping the workforce posted about ineligibility for statutory benefits in the event that appropriate seniority of membership is not kept up."/

On election day the trade union organization at STOMIL had a membership of 508, and the meeting was attended by 89 delegates previously elected in the 12 election districts of the enterprise. The Plant Board, the Auditing Commission and the board chairman were elected. In a separate election Wladyslaw Ciebien, non-party member, foreman of Department No 3, received the most votes for the chairman.

#### The Union is Needed

This was said at the election meeting. After all, many matters await resolution. For example, there is the problem of commuting to work, which has long been vexatious. On the suggestion of employees, a letter was sent to the Province Transportation Enterprise [WKP] in Tarnow requesting changes in the schedules of buses No 1 and 3 departing from Os. Matejki in the downtown direction so as to facilitate for employees the return home after work. Jointly with the trade union organizations of other plants in Debica, The Polish State Railroads Directorate was asked to add a train in the direction of Tarnow at 1430 hours. The union also opined on wage increases and the utilization of funds to increase remuneration. Among other things, it was suggested that the so-called "13th pay" be included in the form of a bonus to the monthly pay.

The resolution adopted on 25 February of this year includes a provision concerning the union's program of action. This concerns promoting the possibilities for occupational and social advancement of young employees, helping employees who build and repair their own houses and dwellings, helping employees who are in a difficult material situation, taking over the functions previously exercised by plant social services and housing commissions and carrying out a public review of working conditions and presenting the resulting findings and recommendations to the plant management for implementation. Other parts of the resolution also concerned cooperation with the party and youth organizations, the Plant Committee for National Salvation and the worker self-government. This is merely formal wording since that cooperation has from the beginning been good. Representatives of the union are invited to the weekly sessions of the PZPR executive board at the plant.

#### Doubts Still Exist

Even though in face of real facts these doubts are gradually becoming blunted. Ferdynand Rzegocki, a member of the union board at the plant, said: /"At first people didn't want to talk with us. At meetings they said that the unions are powerless, that they were initiated by the enterprise management, etc. They hinted that we should first show them what we can do before they would join the union. Such people account for a majority of the workers, those still undecided and fearful of community pressure."/

Wladyslaw Ciebien added: /"I believe that the impasse has been broken. For some time now people have been coming on their own to the union's office."/

As if to confirm these words, enters Stanislaw Beczek, a retired employee of the enterprise, who has decided to join the union. He declared: /"I expect that the unions will not disappoint the hopes placed in them."/



The wishes concerning the new trade unions may be summarized as follows: they should be authentic, have a worker membership and should not repeat the old mistakes from before and after August [1980].

Thus, the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Employees of the STOMIL DZOS in Debica is simply in operation. Soon trade-union commissions will be appointed and branch trade-union organizations established in the plant's departments. An application for opening a bank account has already been made. For life does not tolerate a vacuum. Requests for loans and statutory benefits on the occasion of birthdays or deaths already are coming in. And who else than the trade union of employees can attend to it?

#### Building Trade Unions Not Easy

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 22 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Mirosława Ferenc: "We Knew It Would Not Be Easy: Construction Workers Comment on Trade Unions"]

[Text] /This was the first meeting of representatives of Lodz construction enterprises at the consultation office for trade union affairs. Such meetings have already been held by textile workers, metalworkers and unionists from other subsectors. Thus, they already got to know each other and, most importantly, exchange the initial experience. And quite a few of them lack that experience; true enough, they have volunteered for civic work here and there, but as for representing the interests of the entire workforce and perceiving the common good from an overall rather than parochial and particularized standpoint, that takes certain knowledge and experience. In the Lodz construction trades the degree of trade-union organization is low. At the nearly 50 construction enterprises barely 11 new trade union organizations have been registered. Why so few?/ [printed in boldface]

A representative of the Lodz Industrial Construction Enterprise [LPBP] No 1 said: "If only because we work on scattered construction projects, and not only in Lodz at that. Thus contact is difficult and not daily. The same situation prevails at the BUDOPOL Enterprise for Construction of Public Utility Facilities, although there 230 persons have joined the new trade unions out of a workforce of 1,400."

A representative of the Lodz Construction Ceramics Enterprise in Andropol explains: "Truth to say, among us a majority have adopted a passive wait-and-see attitude. I call them observers." He continues: "We lack union activists. The older ones have departed and the young are unwilling to shoulder representing the whole."

The new trade unions have been most rapidly and efficiently organized at the Lodz WSCHOD Construction Combine [LKB], where a founding committee with 40 members had been formed as early as last November. It included former activists from both trade unions.

Zbigniew Widawski, the chairman of the new unions at the WSCHOD LKB, explains further: "We proceeded from the premise that our founding committee should

consist of as many workers as possible. And so it happened. Even so, when we submitted for consultation the statute of the new unions to the workforce, 45 amendments had been proposed. We added most of them, because we concluded that construction is a specific subsector and its specific features have to be considered in the statute. Last December we submitted the required documents to the court and several days later we were registered. Late in January of this year an election meeting was held, and at present our membership is 268, including 27 pensioners. It may be higher, since no day passes without new members joining up. The beginnings were difficult, but we knew it would not be easy. I have been working in construction for 27 years. I'm an installer and I know well my plant and the people who work there. I'm also familiar with the present-day needs and troubles of our enterprise."

The participants in the meeting listened raptly to the union chairman from the WSCHOD LKB. Perhaps because he spoke impressively and simply of what is behind us and what we are still facing.

Representatives of some construction enterprises asked him: "And what problems have you already faced?"

"For example, we heard that the management refused to pay traveling expenses for vacationing employees. Why? We asked that question of the management of our company. In effect, we reached the agreement that traveling expenses for 14-day furloughs will be paid from the enterprise fund. Another matter: As known, the so-called 13th pay is added to sickness benefits each month. The new decree of the Parliament specifies that employees who are on sickness leave for fewer than 3 days will not be paid the mean rate. In addition, at our enterprise there exists a contingency fund, for which employees who are absent even once a month are not eligible. The result is that employees are doubly penalized. We resolved to ask the Worker Council to consider this, and perhaps this dual penalty can be avoided." Z. Widawski continues: "Another problem: as known, construction is converting in groups to piecework rates. Workers are opposed to this. They say: 'Fine, we'll convert, but two basic conditions must first be met, to safeguard against a decline in our earnings. First, that not only good wishes but also specific work count in piecework operations. The performance of that work requires materials which, as known, sometimes are available and sometimes aren't. Moreover, secondly, we want a guarantee that the prices of operations also won't be altered.'" How to solve this dilemma? After consulting our colleagues who work directly in production, we concluded that if the employees are willing to sign the piecework contract, they must play by the new rules of the game. If, on the other hand, they conclude that this will make them suffer financially, they have the right to refuse it. There is one other matter: speaking frankly, we have hardly been able to cope with it, perhaps because it concerns a rather important problem: a salary for the union chairman. For a month I have been delegated to union work. At present I've been granted an unpaid leave and will receive a salary from the union treasury. We proceeded from the premise that we aren't going to beg the plant director for alms."

A representative of the Enterprise for the Management of Construction Machinery [PGMB] asked: "Must the union chairman receive a salary? Is it not enough to have a clerk or a retired pensioner who would keep the union's records?"

Z. Widawski answers this question with another: "This isn't a matter of keeping records, though this is being done by volunteers anyway, and the problem is

rather that we have to establish contact with workers at 15 different construction sites. How can I have the time for it?"

At this meeting many questions were asked. Besides, people ask them willingly. Thus there is nothing surprising that quite a few of the questions concerned the implementation of the provisions of "The Construction Worker's Charter."

Mirosław Pawlak, the chairman of trade unions at the Łódź ZACHOD Construction Combine, declared: "There is a feeling that the rights gained by construction workers owing to the Charter exist on paper only. Consider, e.g. the seniority awards. We have never yet received any such award."

Z. Widawski asked, "Why? At our combine these awards were paid last December. Of course, they'll remain on paper only unless we demand our rights. And what about housing? It is being said that just as a cobbler wears no shoes himself, so construction workers lack housing. This is largely true. Unless we ourselves do something about it, no one will give us housing. At the WSCHOD LKB we supported and will continue to support every initiative intended to get us housing, regardless of whether the housing is built under youth patronage or ordered for another plant, because we also sign the contract and, in my opinion, there is nothing to prevent adding certain clauses to it. One more comment about 'The Construction Worker's Charter': at our combine the social services have drafted a set of rules. It was precisely on the basis of that 'Charter' that they put down in writing what is due us and, point after point, are translating this into reality, because it is vital to us the 'Charter' be implemented gradually and pursuant to its provisions."

The representative from the PGMB said: "Allow me to draw your attention to a seemingly trivial matter. I say 'seemingly' on purpose, because to us who work under difficult conditions this matter is far from trivial. Consider that until recently detergents had been rationed. The restrictions included a reduction in the consumption norms of soap and detergent powders, etc. Let me remind you that the rationing has been abolished, but the reduced norms remain effective. Shouldn't the old norms be restored, considering that these reduced norms dating from the period of the severe crisis in our chemical industry, are simply insufficient? In my opinion, trade unions should attend to this far from trivial matter."

As I pointed out above, a large number of questions was asked at this first meeting of unionists representing the construction community. It is nothing surprising that toward the end of the meeting it was resolved to hold such meetings more often. Many of the problems are identical and common. As can be seen, varied experience has already been gained in solving them. Thus perhaps it is not worthwhile breaking down doors that already are open, and instead the experience of others should be utilized. For it is known that the beginning is not easy, but even now it is obvious that the finish will depend on the start.

#### Usual Trade Union Matters

Gdańsk GŁOS WYBRZEŻA in Polish 28 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Halina Bykowska: "Ordinary Trade Union Affairs"]

[Text] /Although only a few days have passed since the first general program-election meeting of the Independent Self-Governing Union of Employees [NSZZ] of the Gdansk Port Authority [ZPG], the union's office is as bustling as if it had existed continuously for many years. Some people are bringing applications for union benefits, others ask to join the union or for a membership card, while others still ask to see the chairman about troublesome and difficult problems./ [printed in boldface]

The union secretary—Eugeniusz Kuzniacki—who, prior to his election to this post, had worked as a senior independent forwarder in the timber department and been a member of the union founding committee, tends to all applicants graciously and with a smile, time after time opening folders containing membership application forms.

Showing me the bulging folders containing filled-out membership declaration for regions 1 and 3 and the department of navigation services, he said: "Look. The employees of these departments willingly join the union. What's the main reason? In my opinion, this chiefly depends on the attitude of department heads: the more soberly and realistically they view our present-day reality, the more of their subordinates join the union. We're rather sorry to note that so far the administrative staff, and particularly the managerial personnel under the directors for economic and operational affairs, have not shown interest in the union's activities. So far not one of them has applied for membership in our union. Perhaps we're being needlessly impatient. The union statute specifies that membership seniority will be credited if the membership declaration is submitted not later than 6 months from the date of the registration of our union, i.e. by 6 June of this year.

Another union secretary, Krystyna Bielawska, said: "People are still mistrustful. When my fellow employees from the economics department learned that I belong to the new trade union, they stopped talking with me. I was forced to switch jobs. Fortunately, my application for the post of union secretary was approved...."

A particularly bulging folder on the desk of Eugeniusz Kuzniacki is one containing membership declarations from old-age pensioners and annuitants. It turns out that as many as 138 of the 412 union members are former ZPG employees who are now retired on old-age pension or annuity.

Jan Masalski, deputy chairman of the NSZZ of Employees of the ZPG, who had been active in the union founding committee while at the same time exercising the functions of a dispatcher at the Westerplatte Department, declared: "Those now on old-age pension or annuity had not spared efforts and sweat for their work establishments. That is why they attempt to maintain their ties with them through contacts with the trade union which pays benefits to those less well-off, reimburses them for their fuel expenses, provides them with potatoes for the winter, and does not forget its members when they are sick and provides so-called death benefits. Relatives and friends may sometimes let one down, but the trade union always remembers the deceased member. In the martial-law era the trade union saw to it that a tombstone was placed on the grave of our former unionist who had no kin and no one close to him...."

To many old-age pensioners and annuitants their ties with the work establishment and the trade unions are of great importance. This is so in the case of Jan

Zgirski, old-age pensioner,, who had worked for the ZPG continuously for 27 years since 1945. When in my presence Kuzniacki handed him his union card, Zgirski smiled and said: "I don't want to break my contact with the trade union. I'm certain that it will help me when I'm in a difficult situation."

The union's help is being requested by those who did not avail themselves of it in the postwar years but feel linked to it.

Jan Masalski reminisces: "During the martial law era I read a letter from Warsaw, from an old-age pensioner whose husband had been a member of the Seamen's Union, later called Union of Seamen and Port Workers, and who died in the Battle for England during World War II. His widow found herself at present in a difficult material situation and asked the unionists for help...."

Eugeniusz Kuznicki said: "We still receive anonymous nasty telephone calls from some people. I'm certain, however, that when people are in need they'll begin to come to us."

They already are beginning to come. Krystyna Bielawska showed me two applications for union benefits which arrived barely a few hours ago. In the first application Jan P., who receives a monthly old-age pension of 3,804 zlotys plus a small family allowance for his wife, asks financial help for buying clothing and shoes; in the second, Wanda P., who receives an annuity of 6,600 zlotys and supports two children, requests material assistance, because her husband, who has been injured in an accident, still is not receiving his sickness pay. There are more such applications.

It is a fact that port workers had also needed union assistance during the period preceding the establishment and registration of the NSZZ of Employees of the ZPG. During that period a great role was played by the employees who had initially been members of the union-initiating groups and subsequently of the union founding group.

Jan Masalski declared: "At that time we learned of the difficult housing situation of Stanislaw P., working in the emergency power squad. We asked the management of the ZPG to allocate housing to him. For objective reasons this matter has not yet been resolved, but the management assures us that Stanislaw P. will receive an apartment as soon as possible."

The organizers of the new union are also attending to wage problems. Nearly 20 port workers appealed against deductions from the so-called 13th month pay. Intervention by the trade-union aktiv proved effective--some of the claims were settled positively. It was also owing to help from trade-union activists, that rights to receive 13th pay were restored to about 50 port workers who had taken part in a strike immediately after the martial law was declared.

Jan Masalski said: "In defending them we were convinced that they hadn't realized the consequences of failure to obey the martial law decree promulgated immediately following a period of anarchy and chaos."

In addition, the founding committee had, jointly with the plant chapter of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], asked the Council of State to pardon those former ZPG employees who had been sentenced under the martial law decree.

Jan Masalski stated: "If the Council of State exercises the right of pardon toward them, we will have to help them so that, on resuming their jobs at the ZPG, they would be aware that they have well-meaning friends."

Eugeniusz Kuznicki added: "We're not scattering empty promises around, because we want to be credible. We offer only what we can really offer. We want to be trusted and believed in. That is why we attached great importance to the first program-election meeting, inviting to it all members of our union so that they themselves would become convinced that the plant trade-union authorities were not imported from the outside. We proved to the workforce that the trade-union authorities will be exactly those whom they elect themselves."

"Departmental elections have not yet taken place. We proceeded from the premise that after people become familiar with the union's program of action at the general meeting, it will be easier to win over chairmen of departmental groups who would want to show real commitment to mediating between the union board and the rank-and-file union membership."

"The fact that unionists are working exclusively on concrete and realistic tasks is demonstrated both by the union's program of action, adopted at the recent first general meeting, and by the six resolutions adopted by it. A characteristic feature of that program is the desire to achieve an equitable distribution of benefits from all the social and welfare achievements of the port workers so far. It is worth noting that the program accepts the participation of old-age pensioners and annuitants in the distribution of 13th month pay, which is a major event in itself."

I asked Jan Masalski: During the general meeting the size of statutory benefits and membership fees applying to old-age pensioners and annuitants were topics of lively discussion. Will not this affect adversely the union members with the lowest earnings?

Jan Masalski answered: "We proposed increasing the statutory benefits, on making this contingent on an increase in membership dues. But this proposal was not accepted. I believe that old-age pensioners and annuitants, and the employees with the lowest earnings as well, will be treated justly. The dues they have been paying to the union will be offset to them quite soon with union benefits and other forms of union assistance."

The board of the NSZZ of Employees of the Gdansk Port Authority intends to be very thorough in its handling of financial matters, which will be subjected to a detailed analysis after a year. Considerable importance--as I was assured--will also be attached to a thorough implementation of statutory and program tasks as well as to an appropriate work discipline at the board. The founding committee had 18 members, but only one-half were genuinely committed to their work. Thus, in order to dispense with "dead souls" within the board, it was decided to terminate the membership of persons with three unexcused absences from the mandatory sessions. Passive individuals will be replaced with those willing to work from among the so-called union grassroots, who are most familiar with the needs and problems of rank-and-file employees.

Pursuant to the union statute, once every 6 months during the 2-year term of office of union officers, meetings will be held for analysis and evaluation of



the performance of the union board. This will serve to prevent in time any irregularities and mistakes.

### Social Activity in Trade Unions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 29 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Miroslaw Bogiel: "Social Services Above All...: Trade Unions at Zamosc Meat Works"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Nearly 3 months have already passed since the new trade unions began to be active. Of course, this is too little time to assess the experience and achievements of the unions, because these 13 or so weeks represent barely the beginnings--the preliminary stage of broad trade-union activities./

The process of the formation of new trade-union structures is far from that elemental flood of declarations which had occurred in 1980. Today no one is persuading anyone else to fill out a membership declaration; everyone has the time to consider it calmly and adopt a decision consonant with his conscience as a worker. But even though--at many work establishments--the workforces still adhere to a wait-and-see attitude toward trade unions, it is a fact that union membership is slowly but steadily rising.

Thus what has been accomplished during those 3 months? What is the place of the trade-union organization in the structure of the enterprise? We came with these questions to the Meat Works in Zamosc--one of the larger enterprises of the province--which employ, inclusive of their subordinate local branches, a workforce of 1,550.

Let us begin with some figures. The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Employees of the Meat Works was registered on 29 December of last year as the fourth union in the province. At the time of its registration it had 97 members, whereas now their number has (as of 16 [Mar 83]) grown to 164.

On the second floor of the plant's administration building, in the office provided to trade unionists once the union had been registered, I talked with Marek Dzioch, chairman of the Board of the Provisional Trade Unions and his deputy, Wladyslaw Kopec who also is the chairman of the plant Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

Marek Dzioch said: /"At first we organized several meetings with the workforce in order to hear from persons directly working in production about issues of concern to them and what should be done first. The issues most often raised which lie within the scope of our interests are the wage system and the need to revise it, in view of the considerable differences in pay at different production departments. The problem is that the pay scales are not always geared to the hard working conditions entailed in some jobs./

/"We devote much attention to social services and particularly to improving the safety and hygiene of labor. In this respect much is yet to be done. It is necessary, for example, to install ventilation in the slaughter rooms and meat-cutting sections where people work in a steamy and humid atmosphere./

/"A serious problem is that of providing the workforce with work clothing, especially rubber footwear. The orders placed are being only partially fulfilled and often employees have instead to be paid the monetary equivalent--which will not substitute for work clothing."/

Stanislaw Kopec commented: /"One of the first resolutions of our union was that the plant management be asked to annul administrative penalties, with the exception of penalties for pilferage and drunkenness."/

Marek Dzioch continued: /"As a result, 56 persons were enabled to receive 13th and 14th month pay. During these 3 months several instances of disciplinary breaches warranting the immediate dismissal of their perpetrators took place at the plant. Since, however, the material and family situation of those individuals was unusually difficult, the plant director approved the request of unionists who vouched with their own authority for these persons, thus giving them a chance for rehabilitation."/

Since 18 January, that is, 2 weeks after their start, the unions took over the handling of all social services. The effects here are measurable. By now 23 workers existing in a difficult material situation have received nonrefundable benefits ranging from 3,000 to 5,000 zlotys apiece. The unions also organized a New Year's tree for children, and recently the union treasury funded gifts for all the ladies on the occasion of their recent holiday [Women's Day]. Even provincial branches were--for the first time ever--visited by union representatives bearing good wishes for women, which was acknowledged to be greatly in favor of the young union organization.

Speaking of social activities, it is also worth noting that the union now handles the organization of rest furloughs for the entire workforce. The enterprise operates a leased vacation home in Jastrzebia Gora with vacancies for 30 persons, in which this year 200 persons will have spent their vacations. Irrespective of this, considerable progress has been made in building an own vacation center in Krasnobroda.

Unionists from the Meat Works have already had occasion to intervene repeatedly in difficult problems of individual employees. Recently, thanks to their efforts, an employee whose housing conditions had been critical has been allocated a cooperative dwelling on an emergency basis. Two other similar cases are being processed. Or another example: for some time now the plant clinic has lacked a stomatologist. Within a few weeks one was hired owing to the efforts of the unionists. Since several hundred women work at the plant, thought is also being given to hiring a gynecologist for the clinic.

Ending our conversation, Marek Dzioch said: /"The interest in our activities is considerable. Although many people still hold to the wait-and-see attitude, at the beginning that was an ill-wishing attitude toward us, whereas now many observe our activities with sympathy and friendly interest."/

The unionists believe that time is on their side. All that is needed is specific and resolute actions, because only thus the still divided workforce can be convinced and have proof that in the unions it finds honest protectors of its own employee interests.

Soon the provisional character of the officers of the new union will be over. For this month a plant election conference is scheduled, at which the first regular union board will be elected.

The unionists say: /"We will not offer a ready-made program of action at the conference, because we want it to be the handiwork of all members. We don't intend to force anything down their throats, because people themselves know best which matters deserve priority. The discussion will enable us to draft a program that will be realistic and will at the same time genuinely reflect the needs of our entire workforce."/

1386

CSO 2600/857

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Party at Construction Supply Elements Works

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 8 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Hanna Wojciechowska: "In the Party Organization at the Construction Supply Elements Works 'Metalplast' - Let Us Do That Which Depends on Us"]

[Text] There are many matters in the work crews and party organizations which are not discussed at meetings. The human community has become divided, persons once close to each other have drawn apart. There remains, however, a common field of concern - production, its results, earnings. This is a large field and each day brings new problems. It is not enough that there are continuous problems with the supply of raw materials, then there are not enough workers. Managing such a situation requires some serious thinking. There is no universal formula for solving work stoppages. The solution lies in coping with thousands of small annoyances.

The party organization at Metalplast in Oborniki has lost 40 percent of its membership. The executive committee of the enterprise is composed mostly of engineering and technical level personnel, there are only 2 worker members. Inversely, in division number 1, out of the eight members in the executive committee 6 are workers; the secretary, however, is the director of the department. Perhaps a technical, practical approach decided the choice of that which is most important today?

"Work yield and production growth is today's field for intensive cultivation," say the secretaries of the shop party committee Marian Pawlak, Seweryn Szczesniak and the division secretary, Witold Czapranski. "How to say this," they wonder, "without making it sound as if an overwhelming strength is being used to force an already open door? Really, we are doing that which should be done always. We have always tried to get by somehow. At each step we have tried to make improvements, we have changed some things.

"Most necessary is honest information on the state and the factual results of the enterprise. At the meetings we have acquainted the workers with the new

organization in the enterprise (some changes were made). We spoke widely about production goals, and the state of their advancement. When we got to the details it was time to consider all the causes of the work stoppages. One of the causes was the handling of work between operations. How to arrange things so that a piecework assembly worker should not wait for the work but the reverse - the work should wait for him? We have trained our people in internal transport of the workpieces so that a worker could leave a machine and join the workpiece handling crew. We have created the internal handling system from real applications in each department for the disposal of the director. The workers are somewhat unwilling to come off piecework and into direct pay positions, but since the results of piecework depend on this they accept it.

"We have a fund for work motivation. For every 1 percent over 100 percent of planned production, we distribute 0.5 percent of the fund. In the last 3 months each worker received an average of 1500 zlotys - some as much as 3000. This is an incentive. Today at Metalplast one can earn money, but to do it one has to work. Still, those that are looking for easier work are leaving us. In Oborniki such work can be found without much effort. Therefore, our efforts have been directed toward increasing yield, because on this basis we can raise pay and create a pension plan which is competitive with those of the other enterprises.

"We have introduced tight documentation of production - each piece of work is accompanied by a card as it moves from one position to another. In theory this was always done - in practice, not often. Now we have it and it allows for a tighter management of materials.

"We have created a difficulty factor in the enterprise. There are work stations which are more difficult than others, some are even unhealthful. Since this work cannot be mechanized someone has to do it. The one doing it should then be compensated with extra pay.

"We want to make it the rule that students from the higher grades of the technical schools be employed in doing some of the minor assembly work. The school workshops have their own programs, the students do come to the shops, but so far they have done more visiting than actual work with the machines. We want to have the student involved in work sooner. We'd like to have those fresh from school come in knowing exactly which work station awaits them. This would be better than all the 'orientation programs'. This year of the 47 that have finished the trade school program at least 40 have already signed up with the enterprise. Now, before it was different. We could afford to train others.

"Up to this time the waste from cold formed parts was consigned as scrap and sold at scrap prices. Today, when every component of profit for the enterprise is important, we heat and join these scraps so that they may be used as building components and bring a higher price.

"How have these initiatives been received by the workcrew? Not much has been said about that. There are indicators that it was worth doing. Yield has definitely increased. In spite of the lack of workers we are accomplishing

our assignments and there are no hurdles in giving pay raises. There are fewer medical discharges. It happens that one production department will push another. There always were problems in transferring workers from one department to another. Today, when the weak point, which affects the whole, is visible, the workers find it easier to move from one position to another. Could the application of the reform have changed thought patterns? Perhaps.

"Here's one resolution accepted at the executive meeting on 4 February 1983; to show exactly what each person from the technical division must do when a new product is introduced or an old one modernized. This is so that production would not be hampered by an unfinished prototype, lack of material, etc.

"Aside, we try to keep our resolutions. That which has been proposed must be reviewed quarterly, what was done or not done, and why. We are up to our ears in terrific ideas which were never implemented.

"In addition, when we do something from our own or party organization initiative we do not wait for a medal. We do not expect compliments and we do not shove our ideas under people's noses to show who we are. We do that which we are supposed to do so that things would be better every day here in the concern. We want less haste and more work done. We often work anonymously to get things accomplished - not to get the credit for the idea and its execution. The results and the effects is what interests us, and that is sufficient.

"It is even difficult to expect praise. Now we are doing something to improve things but it should be this way always. Why now? Well, it had to be done sometime, and now the pretty slogans are worthless, results are better prized."

#### Party Contact With Community

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 10 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by b: "Better Contact Between the Party Organization and the Community"]

[Text] (Own Information) In the current year there is a noticeable increase in the number of complaints, letters, applications, and requests for intervention addressed to the provincial party level in Krosno, to the basic party level, and to the units of government administration. These signals sent by the inhabitants of Podkarpacie, as under a lens, concentrate the most important problems which working people encounter on a daily basis. They command a great social trust and faith in a just and an effective way of solving problems. They are, simply, an expression of the growth in the authority of the PZPR. A conflict solved in time, the accomplishment of even a small matter has large social impact. This was said at the meeting of the executives of the provincial committee of the PZPR on 9 June 1983 in Krosno.

During the meeting it was concluded that numerous initiatives of the party echelons and organizations in the Podkarpacie region and the introduction of regular telephone watches by representatives of the provincial committee



directorates in Krosno have contributed to the growth in the number of complaints, applications, and requests for intervention.

If during the first half of 1982 there were 268 assorted matters for intervention, then up to 20 May 1983 the PZPR provincial committee directorate and the complaint and application commission at the provincial echelon have looked into 517 workers' problems. At the same time the basic echelon received 136 letters and 638 requests for intervention. The problems mentioned referred mostly to matters concerning housing construction and communal management, the village and farming, human relations in several enterprises and industrial concerns, the courts and prosecution, trade, services, and craftsmanship.

The provincial office and units of the governmental administration of Krosno Province registered, in the same time period, 316 complaints and applications among which dominant were the problems of housing construction, communal management, trade and services. All problems were referred to the party echelons and organizations by working people were taken care of earnestly and to completion.

In spite of these encouraging assessments it was concluded that it is necessary to continue improving direct communications between the provincial committee directorate, the field echelons, the government administration units and the inhabitants of the various social and employment centers of the entire Podkarpackie.

The executives of the provincial committee PZPR in Krosno also reviewed the methods of realizing the resolution of the 10th PZPR central committee plenum in one of the large industrial concerns of the Krosno province and its own conclusions in regard to strengthening the national councils.

#### Upheaval in Plant Party Organization

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 10 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Siwak: "We Have Nothing To Hide From the Workers"]

[Text] The heavy blow taken by the party organization at the Mielce Transportation Equipment Factory after August 1980 is now history. But this history remains in the consciousness of many members. After all, this was a typical period for most of the party organizations in large industrial concerns. There were the returns of party cards by persons not able to take the psychological strain and by those who came into the party by chance. There was sharp criticism of the deviations in the past period. This resulted in working in new, changed, much harder than before conditions, but experience was gained as well. Now, a year and half from the time martial law was introduced, comrades, who had made it through the most difficult period, are trying to rebuild the unity of individual collectives. Especially the basic party links which decide the strength and effectiveness of party actions.

The past period has left its mark on statistics even if it is not very important. Today the industrial-concern-based party organization numbers 3570

comrades working in 10 basic party organizations POP, 79 OOP, and 203 party groups. How does the activity of the party groups, the smallest party collectives, shape up? How are party members acting through the groups fulfilling the tasks which were discussed during the 12th plenum of the Central Committee [CC] ?

To those, and other questions, comrades taking part in the interview will try to supply the answers. These are: Stefan Blach, first secretary of the OOP in the cutting and assembly division, Tadeusz Stafiej, first secretary of the OOP in the division assembling large aircraft components, Mieczyslaw Ciesla, group leader of that OOP, Wladyslaw Gryglewski, first secretary OOP in the fabrication shop, and Stanislaw Herchel, secretary shop committee [KZ] PZPR.

For a long, worrisomely long, time in formulating appraisals of party collectives' activities the words "party group," "party assignment" were rarely used. Today, after almost 3 years since the first workers' strikes in September 1980, and a year and a half from the moment that martial law was instituted, when the sociopolitical situation in the country is stabilizing, when the party organizations are increasing their influence on the course of events in the workplaces, can one when they are recovering their lost initiative, can one speak about the full functioning of groups--the smallest party collectives? After all they function closely to the work stations where production matters are decided...

S. Herchel: I do not fully share such a categorically formulated opinion. In our plant organization party groups have always existed, even in the time of the heaviest attacks by our political opponent. True, their number has shrunk. This is linked to changes in structure and organization, and the adaptation to work under new conditions and demands. It is a fact, however, that for various reasons, the membership in our organization has dropped. At one time we numbered 6000 members. Even though the process of self-cleansing the ranks has ended, because of it the number of basic organizations has shrunk and with them the party action groups.

However, the activity of these smallest collectives is another matter. Perhaps it is not up to the level of need, but the groups are functioning, and are active among the workers. In the various departments they gather comrades from actual work areas, while in the technical positions levels they concentrate people from specific divisions. These members have direct contact with the nonparty workcrew members. Their job is to, for example, collect opinions, consult with the workcrew about various problems which then may be taken up for discussion at meetings of the OOP.

S. Blach: In my OOP we do much to strengthen and increase the activity of the group. Are we succeeding? First of all we try to maintain constant contact with the workers through group "chiefs". They are invited to all executive meetings of the OOP. Their job is to bring news of executive decisions and resolutions into their own surroundings. At the same time the basic task is to link group activities with professional work, the daily production life, the proper atmosphere among the workers, and the calming of possible conflicts.

W. Gryglewski: The party groups are active in that which is current under given surroundings. First, all are concerned, as was pointed out at the last meeting of the central committee, with the creation of the proper atmosphere for work. Therefore, group leaders cooperate daily with workstation leaders, master craftsmen, brigade leaders. Often they help to make decisions regarding the allotment of bonuses and premiums, and in the dispensing of punishment, if necessary. After all they know the people best, their attitude toward work, their position.

M. Ciesla: Often during lunch break, fellow workers turn to us, the group leaders, with assorted, sometimes annoying, questions. If I know the problem, I explain immediately. If not, I turn to the OOP secretary for help. We try not to remain silent, we don't want questions to go unanswered. Even so our assignment is not easy in all situations. It happens that we run out of arguments. For example, a worker comes up showing a ration coupon for shoes and states that he has been unable to redeem it. Someone else will bring up the continuing water shortages in Mielce, a problem several years old, and connects it to the possibilities of executing resolutions by the party organizations.

In group I have 12 comrades, mostly laborers and intermediate production workers. The workers carefully observe our activities. Because we take up their problems, they are becoming convinced of our effectiveness. How does it show? For example, recently our group gained two female candidates who have put in applications for acceptance into the party.

Question: The activity of party groups is linked to the assignment and execution of real party tasks...

T. Stafiej: At the meetings of the OOP executives we have considered the methods of assignment and the subjects of party tasks. We wanted to avoid past errors when things were treated too formally. If a member is pursuing nonresident studies, are we to give him the assignment of finishing these studies? But if for some objective reason he should discontinue the studies, should we throw him out of the party? Instead we try to give our comrades tasks of our own invention which would have beneficial results and engender extra effort. The OOP has group assignments. One group is responsible for visual propaganda, a second for safety and hygiene in the workplace, and for housekeeping in the division, a third for rationalization and friendly competition. The first two are functioning well, the third has a more difficult situation. We are planning to "crank up" friendly competition. Presently we are in the process of discussion and consultation with the workers. The workers still have some latent distrust. They say, "Fine, our workcrew will compete, but what will happen when we raise output and our quotas go up? What will we gain?" Moreover, to have such work competition we must obtain resources for awarding prizes, even if they are symbolic honors. Presently we lack these resources.

M. Ciesla: We are trying to conform our activities to actual demands. We also want to attract and interest the entire work force in the division in the activity of the party organization. The wall of mistrust is being breached. The most painful episodes for us, from before December 1981, are now in the past. It happened that if two nonparty members were talking and were approached

by a party man, a fellow worker whom they knew for years, the conversation stopped. We are behaving differently. Open meetings of the OOP have been introduced as part of the regular routine. After all, we have no secrets to hide from the workcrew in the division. It is true, however, that up to now few nonparty people had taken the opportunity to participate in the meetings. But it is also true that the workcrew is interested in the course of the meetings and the subjects discussed. Evidence of this is the fact that after the conclusion of a meeting the workers ask as to what had been discussed, and what resolutions were approved. And they make comments about them.

12411

CSO: 2600/1034

PROVINCIAL BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS' ACTIVITIES NOTED

Workers' Comment on Reform

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 30 May 83 pp 1,2

[Text] What do workers think about the reform, how do they see its implementation and the effectiveness of new economic mechanisms? Finally, what changes and corrections, in their opinion, are necessary in the current reform solution? These are the basic questions put to a group of several hundred workers from various industries by journalists from the Polish Press Agency [PAP].

A poll conducted by PAP on the subject of the functioning of the reform showed that the greater part of the 500 workers interviewed by the agency journalists fully supports the principles of the reform and holds great hope that the reform will break the crisis and develop conditions for the effective development of the Polish economy. The "Directions for Economic Reform" adopted at the Ninth PZPR Congress must be consistently accomplished. Without the reform our economic situation would be much worse. Only the reform can guarantee an end to the crisis. Those were the most repeated general workers' comments about the process, started last year, of rebuilding the economic mechanisms and structure.

On the positive side of the reform are counted primarily the following: first, the increase in independence of the industrial concerns, that is, in deciding the product mix, the setting of prices based on real costs, and making small investments to improve production efficiency. An added benefit was the introduction of the principle of rewarding the growth of productivity through raises in workers' wages. In the opinion of a large number of those interviewed, these were the elements that had decisive influence on last year's economic results. Thanks to these it was possible to stop the slide and gradually increase industrial production.

In individual interviews a positive assessment was given to the adoption of the accord system in certain work places, changes in industrial work motivation systems, and organizational structure.

The significance of the self-management principle in the reform was stressed. "Self-management," said Antoni Skarbek from the glass works in Jaroslaw, "has produced a feeling that each worker is a co-manager and has an interest in running the plant. The workers have realized that their work will affect the results." Evidence of the interest in self-management is given by the statement of Robert Babbusa from the crew of the power plant "Dolna Odra" in Szczecin province. "We do not understand," he said, "why in the energy and mining fields the self-management boards must originate by areas in which there are several dozen power plants operating, and not directly in the work places where they would be most beneficial."

In individual interviews there was no lack of criticism. Some had fears as to the future fate of the reform. Five workers from the Fasta Bialystok Cotton Mill commented that at their workplace they see neither the implementation of the reform nor its effects. In their estimation the administration is still too large and overly bureaucratic, still observing many outdated regulations.

"For the reform," stated one of the workers, "the worst are administrative and regulatory limitations, only partly justified in the present transition period. These must be gradually eliminated. Another danger," said a different worker, "is that each of the reforms is interpreted in accordance with individual needs and interests, not for the common good."

Many of those interviewed were critical of the substantial increases in rates of pay at those concerns which have achieved a rise in the rate of production in the second half of the year as compared to the first six months of the current year. "Probably there was a reason for this," they concluded, "but in this way industrial concerns which had poor production records before had been rewarded." In this context they pointed out the negative results of destabilized economic politics. The corrections done during the year and changes in decisions, it was stressed, disorganize work and scuttle the consequent realization of undertaken strategies.

Another group of comments referred to pay systems. The greater part of those in the survey spoke out against "pay equalization." They stressed the need for a close connection between pay raises and the growth of production, its yield and quality. "Equalized pay," said Jozef Wolejko from the Polish Wool Plants at Zielona Gora, "is not an inducement toward better work. Pay should be given on the basis of results."

This was the dominant view in the interviews. The danger of creating overpaid positions was indicated, but it was added that there should be no obstacles to paying the better worker more than the others who may be at the same level in the ranks. At the same time the low elasticity of the pay standards was mentioned, as well as the necessity for strengthening the financial position of master craft workers. There also was talk of creating stronger pay incentives so that the quality of the product would be improved, and that would help to realize the goal of saving materials. Mentioned were the overly burdensome quotas imposed on the concerns and diverted for the benefit of the public treasury.



It is difficult to enumerate all the conclusions and observations voiced by the workers taking part in the survey. It is also difficult to form a composite assessment. The opinions expressed by the workers were based on their experiences and the practices of the industrial concerns in which they were employed; therefore the opinions on reform implementation differed diametrically. However, not a single person questioned the reform and its basic solutions. Conversely, all stressed the necessity of full and rapid realization of the principles accepted at the Ninth PZPR Congress. This indicates that in the workplaces there is full acceptance of the change in direction taken by the economic system, and the realization that the changes must be consistently implemented.

All the opinions collected in the survey by the Polish Press Agency will be sent to the office of the government plenipotentiary in charge of economic reforms.

#### Seminar on Work Motivation

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 31 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (jel): "How to Create Work Motivation - A Seminar for Representatives of Industry"]

[Text] The improvement of industrial pay systems was the topic of a seminar given yesterday by the PZPR Provincial Committee in Opole. Participants were first secretaries of party committees from industrial concerns, the leaders of industrial advisory councils, managers, and leaders of labor unions - all from the 35 largest industrial concerns in the Opole area. The seminar leader was Zdzislaw Niedzielski, secretary of the provincial committee.

It is often said that the incentive system, or rather the collection of various rules or internal decisions of an industrial unit, is the weakest link in economic reform. Council of Ministers Resolution number 135 has created conditions that permit the independent manipulation of pay scales, to set the local pay scales within the range of previously defined rates. In many concerns this ability was used to create local plant-wide incentive systems. In others - the money was simply distributed, after computing how much could be given out. In the second instance one cannot speak about a system. After all, the object is not to distribute gifts into the hands of the work crews, but to tie the pay rate to work results, yield and quality, with the benefits that the enterprise derives from the production, in such a way that the overall financial results of the enterprise decide the rates of pay.

Being conscious of these facts, the organizers of the seminar turned to several industrial concerns which have managed to work out some interesting methods in this area, so that their experiences could be shared with others at a meeting of industrial people. Among those invited were representatives of industrial concerns from outside the Opole area - from the Elevator Factory

in Warsaw, and the Radoskor Leather Works in Radom. Speeches on the subject of new motivational systems and their implementation were also given by representatives of the Besel Electric Motor Factory in Brzeg, the Agromet Farm Machinery Factory in Strzelce Opolskie and the Strzelce Opolskie Cement Works. In turn the representative from the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs informed all about the preparations to have the matter of pay rates placed into a general framework of a Sejm resolution, which would not force solutions, but regulate them by law.

A discussion developed around the presentations, and many questions were asked of the speakers regarding the consequences of the actions taken. The problem is most current - those who took part in its solution have a head start on those in the other industrial concerns. Those industrial experts appearing as speakers at yesterday's seminar assured that all those interested in their solutions will be given advice and any additional information they desire.

#### Lack of Workers or Initiative

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 31 May 83 pp 1,3

[PAP article]

[Text] From various regions of the country we are receiving alarming signals - there is a lack of people for work. A sudden loss of **highly** qualified specialists has manifested itself at the Nitrogen Works in Wloclawek. Soon a halt of production is threatened. The Zwoltex Zdunska Wola Textile Plant, which could produce additional thousands of needed aniline blankets and towels, is paralyzed by the lack of work hands. In many departments there are idle machines. Similar information is abundant, as a rule accompanied by demands for raises in pay, because in another industry the pay is higher...

Is the economy really paralyzed by the lack of workers, and can this be overcome by salary bidding for workers, causing higher wages which are not accompanied by the kind of competition which increased production? Statistical data and observation by the ministry of Labor, Wage, and Social Affairs has shown that conclusions with regard to the subject must be drawn with great care. Often, however, the case is such that there is no lack of willing hands, but of initiative on the part of the enterprise management, which cannot properly use the cadres already working in the enterprise, to stop the loss of workers, to gain new ones not only for today but for tomorrow and for future years.

From January to April of this year, employment in industry, as compared to the period January-April 1982, has dropped by 1.3 percent, in the building industry by 1 percent, and the same in transport and communications. Industrial product sold per worker grew somewhat - even after subtracting the consequences of the loss in the number employed - by 10.7 percent. The result in the building industry, after a recomputing of work hours, was

higher by 23.1 percent. The amount of hauling done by the transport industry grew by 10.6 percent. This indicates then, that there is no direct tie between the number employed and the amount of production.

Then when an enterprise sounds the alarm that it must stop production if no new workers are forthcoming, giving them a pay raise as a reward "on account" - it is worthwhile to see if it is indeed the lack of hands that is stopping production or whether it is the poor organization, and the lack of attention to cadres, which do not live by bread alone.

There are factories which take up an active cadre policy, improving the conditions of personnel already at work and coming out to those who are considering the possibility of taking a job. For example - in the Tarnow Mechanical Plants, after an analysis of the employment structure, 160 workers were moved from administrative to production duties. Also, in the nearby Tamel Electric Motor Factory, 40 administrative positions were eliminated. A part of that group has taken assignments in production. There employment in production units was rationalized, coming to the conclusion that... a surplus of workers as well as their lack can hurt production.

In Wroclaw energetic efforts have been made to find those who are willing to work half-shifts. Several large enterprises there have placed ads in the local newspapers aimed at retirees and pensioners. Telephone information centers have been opened and were well received. By this means work is offered, on a half-shift basis, to welders, fitters, lathe operators, milling machine operators, etc. At the already mentioned Zwoltex in Zdunska Wola an attempt has been made to attract old employees back by organizing social meetings and even raffles.

#### Interview with Workers' Council Chairman

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 31 May 83 pp 1,3

[Interview with Andrzej Kozlowski, chairman of the Workers' Council at the Elektromontaz Enterprise for Production and Assembly of Electrical Equipment for the Construction Industry, by (jan); date and place not specified]

[Text] "The Workers' Council, wishing to base its future actions in implementing the economic reform on the desires of the work force, has asked all workers to voice their opinions regarding the running of the enterprise in the attached questionnaire. We are looking for factual and critical statements..."

[Question] This was the introduction to the multipage questionnaire given to every worker at Elektromontaz. Is this form of consulting the worker intended to provide input toward working out a conservation program?

[Answer] Yes, but to be specific, I must say that the questionnaire was prepared earlier, with the thought that economic reform is a complex set of

problems in which a major place is occupied by the matter of management. Due to objective reasons we left the question of undertaking action for later, and today the questionnaire fits the conservation program perfectly.

[Question] The questionnaire has 15 questions which address the general matters of the enterprise, but there also are questions which deal in detail with actual departments and work positions. Among others, there are questions such as "Which positions do you consider unnecessary? On which functions do you think you are wasting work time?" Are the answers to these questions any less current?

[Answer] We do not have the final results yet, although most workers have already completed the questionnaire. The answers are very factual. The workers have made many suggestions for new solutions to speed work. They have proposed ready solutions to many problems. In a work - hardly anyone has taken the easy way out and filled the questionnaire with generalities and unconstructive complaints.

[Question] Can you cite an example?

[Answer] As an example, take the matter of work clothes. A worker has suggested that instead of one set of clothes two should be issued, as this would lengthen the useful life of the clothes. The idea being that one set could be in use while the other was being washed and mended. This matter is seemingly minor and should be taken care of right out of hand. There were many comments, if one can describe them this way, of a social nature. There were real proposals for making work easier in difficult, nearly field, conditions. On many questionnaires there were conclusions as to the state of employment. This concerns the making of a detailed analysis and then the correct moves as dictated by actual needs. Another often repeated theme on the questionnaire was the improvement in the circulation of documents, more directly to reduce the number of receipts and certificates. The paperwork consumes much time, especially when the workers are employed in many places, often distant from the central office.

[Question] The majority of the thousand-strong Electromontaz work force is in the field in distant localities in several provinces. How does a Workers' Council, which depends on the input from the workers, manage to operate?

[Answer] Simply, the council has many members. Here we have 29 persons while other councils have 12 to 15 members. We had to choose a more numerous council so that there would be at least one representative from each of the larger work areas. This way we reach workers even in the remote locations.

[Question] The questionnaire is certainly not the only undertaking of the council?

[Answer] Of course not. The council undertakes all activities which by regulation fall within its competence. Recently we discussed the matter of investments to be made by the enterprise. We are developing production for export and for the internal market, but our backup facilities are small. In

a week we will be discussing the material saving program. After that there is a backlog of matters tied strictly to the council's abilities. In our enterprise the labor unions are not yet active and there are some matters, those of a social nature, to which we must attend.

[Interviewer] I wish you success in solving these difficult work problems and future matters, since this interview is taking place a few days after the celebration of the anniversary of Electromontaz - 30 years of production and construction success.

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PROVINCIAL BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS CHARACTERISTICS NOTED

Blue-Collar Workers' Psyche

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 30 May 83 p 3

[Interview with Prof Janusz Reykowski by Witold Kiedacz: "The Constructs of Polish Mentality"]

[Text] [Question] Pan Professor, comments are often being made about "romanticism" as a Polish national trait. Insofar as I know, a characteristic feature of the romantic attitude is the acceptance of individual, personal responsibility for, e.g. the economic crisis by every Polish "I." On the other hand have you noticed at the Krakowska Kuznica Club that the dominant conviction in this country, particularly in 1980, was that it is the authorities that bear the responsibility for the crisis. Are we then a society of romantics?

[Answer] To a psychologist this is an extremely difficult question. Primarily because words such as "Romanticist" or "Positivist," that is words intended to describe by means of a single concept the varied character traits of not just one individual but an entire community, usually represent definitions that lead to great simplifications. They are, so to speak, words-labels. Social psychologists have been, nearly from the very beginning of existence of their discipline, combatting social stereotypes and simplified gross conceptions supposed to characterize the allegedly main traits of particular groups. Too many misconceptions are inherent in such stereotypes....

[Question] This is probably a characteristic vision of the world conveyed by the mass media, is not it?

[Answer] ...But I don't think that the stereotype is something new that arose upon the appearance of the mass media. The stereotype is a product of the human mind which attempts to bring order into complex reality and sometimes does this through simplification. The only difference is that a greater community of stereotypes exists in the era of the mass media, and the same stereotype is common to a larger social group.

[Question] Thus, can it be said that the era of the mass media has not so much introduced the stereotype as propagated it?

[Answer] Yes. But there still remains the question of what is to be done about this evident stereotype of what is called the romantic Polish national character. This appears to be a vague and extremely meaning-laden concept, so that I would find it difficult to employ it for descriptive purposes. But this does not mean that I don't believe that a large majority of a particular nation lacks certain



common traits. Such traits of the collective whole are to be found in tradition as well as in the system of values. Hence, instead of asking whether the national character is romantic or not, let us ask whether the values present in our tradition can be described as values of the romantic type. A sea of ink has been spilled on this topic, particularly at present. Thus I would like to make just one comment. In situations in which many elements lie outside the individual's control, he tends to localize, as psychology puts it, control of events outside himself. On the other hand, in situations in which the individual has the opportunity to feel that events depend on him, he tends to localize responsibility and control within himself. I think that, for various reasons, Poles have conceived the tendency to localize control outside themselves, to ascribe it to others, usually referred to as "they"....

[Question] But is that consonant with what we know about the romantic attitude?

[Answer] Then perhaps the definition of the romantic attitude does not reflect properly the attitudes of many Poles. Perhaps I should add that in the 1970s sociologists observed the phenomenon of a split between responsibility for one's personal direct destiny and responsibility for the destiny of the country, the society, the state. The studies then conducted provided an image of a Pole who concentrates on, and accepts only responsibility for, what is closest to him and feels helplessness about more general matters. He feels that /he is dependent rather than that something depends on him/. [printed in boldface] Now a prominent aspect of the post-August mass movement was the feeling of responsibility for the larger collective whole that had then been experienced by a great many people. More than once already it has been asked what should we preserve from the August experience; I would name precisely that feeling, because its appearance, and on a mass scale at that, in itself already constitutes a value.

[Question] In your opinion, does social psychology perceive a difference between the post-August [1980] and the post-December [1981, when martial law was declared] mental condition of the Polish collective whole, Polish society?

[Answer] I think one doesn't have to be an expert to see that the attitudes of a large--though it is not easy to tell just how large--part of the society have changed.

[Question] My question implied a request for evaluating precisely this phenomenon in scientific categories which, after all, differ from social experience.

[Answer] At the present moment it is difficult for me to analyze the problem more broadly. On the other hand, it can be observed that one of the elements of the post-August mood of a large part of the society was the tremendous hope that soon, and without any major impediments, we would radically uproot all the evil which we had until then been experiencing. This had been a hope whose synthetic expression and symbol was the conviction that within a short period of time we could transform Poland into a second Japan. The conviction may have reduced to the belief that if people exert their efforts collectively, they shall accomplish great things. But such an exertion of efforts can lift a huge boulder or demolish a strong road barrier, whereas the construction of complicated machinery, whether in engineering or in the society, by such a "levee en masse" has no chances for producing rapid and easy success. And yet such hopes had existed; from the vantage point of the present it can be seen that they were

unrealistic hopes. That is why I was--and am--inclined to define these hopes as a kind of modern "myth of rebirth" and not as a realistic plan for attaining that rebirth. When, however, such great hopes are cherished, when so much is expected, and then suddenly occurs an abrupt and unequivocal collision with obstacles which are thought to destroy these hopes, then the reactions of those who had cherished these hopes are not surprising. A feeling of a great letdown is bound to arise, a feeling of disappointment, helplessness, dismay and sometimes cynicism as well....

[Question] But any myth, not just the one you mentioned besides, must always be based on some concrete, real and at the same time social substratum; this applies also, besides, to legends, particularly their "golden" versions....

[Answer] An important premise for such a myth of rebirth--or better yet, its wellspring--is the perception of shortcomings or evil aspects of the existing social situation; then the image of a perfect situation is formed through a process of "reversal." Two elements come into play here. The first is the vision formed owing to the process of reversal. For example, a person is haunted by the idea of death and so he creates the myth of immortality. Or he suffers owing to disasters or defeats, and so he creates the myth of invincibility. The other element is the manner of attainment, when it is not suited to the real material circumstances in which the social group exists. Then the desire to attain the state of perfection is expressed, as is the hope that that state can be attained by means which are more in the nature of moral desiderata than practical possibilities; in our case this element had been faith in the power of solidarity of action of the large collective whole. It should be borne in mind, however, that while solidarity of action is an extremely important condition for achieving something great...it still is insufficient. There must also be a realistic plan tailored to the circumstances under which the action is taken; only then results are conceivable....

[Question] But there may also arise a situation in which the myth of, say, invincibility is created not so much by a succession of defeats as by a string of victories or successes; this case may be as valid as the one you described....

[Answer] I share your opinion. In addition to the phenomenon of reversal there is also the phenomenon of extrapolation. But I'm focusing on the former phenomenon because it seems to me that the myth of rebirth in post-August Poland had been built precisely on its basis.

[Question] Professor, as known, two ways of perceiving morality exist. The first assumes that the good is what is declared to be so by an authority, while the second refers to equal rationales: the good is what has been mutually agreed upon by a society of equals. Which model--of course, in its social dimension--is more needed in the present-day Polish reality, in your opinion?

[Answer] I should like to modify this formulation somewhat. For the point is what does one guide oneself by when issuing a moral judgment. Proceeding from this premise, it can be said, as you mentioned, that the good and just is what has been identified as such by an authority. The good is that which the authority considers good. Sometimes it is tradition that represents this authority. Opposed to this is a situation, which also represents a successive stage in development, when the good and just is considered to be that which has been agreed upon among people; for common consensus implies in principle the

equality and partnership of those who arrive at it. In view of this, the principle of authority is opposed to that of mutual agreement and accord, and the result of that agreement becomes just and good. Studies of the moral development of children show, for example, that in the first stage children believe that the rules of their play and games have been defined by some wise beings endowed with special rights; thus the rules of the game are rigid and inviolable. Owing to their mental development, children next enter upon a stage in which they realize that these rules were arrived at owing to mutual agreement and also that they can be altered by mutual agreement. For they are beginning to understand that a large number of rules of the game depends on them themselves. Well, you asked me which model....

[Question] ...is more needed for the present-day Polish reality....

[Answer] I would change your question to sound as follows: which model of morality is better suited to the present developmental state of Polish society? I believe that a consequence of the educational development of large communities, a consequence of the increasing wealth of their experience and the ensuing mental development, is the growing tendency to seek a rationale in agreement among equals rather than in pronouncements by an authority. Thus, I would think that the life of society in Poland must be so arranged as to be linked to these aspirations for deciding on what is good and just.

Here two qualifications have to be made. For I would like to recall the words of Professor Stepien who pointed out that such thinking may be conditioned by the cultural tradition of our society. In other words, such an interpretation of moral-political phenomena may be favored by certain elements of tradition, which makes this requirement still more weighty, as it were. But it should also be borne in mind that the principles in question are not universal, because different needs co-exist in man--both the need for authoritative say-so and the need for common consensus with others. Under different circumstances either need gains precedence or may be of decisive importance.

#### Blue-Collar Workers' Views on Salaries

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 1-2 Jun 83 p 7

[Article by Halina Batorowicz: "What the Citizen Thinks"]

[Text] /The Public Opinion Research Main Center [CBOS] is a government institution that has been active in Warsaw barely a few months but that already has conducted several surveys. I asked the director of the CBOS, Docent Doctor Habilitatus Col Stanislaw Kwiatkowski:/ [printed in boldface]

[Question] Why was the CBOS established, considering that many other centers for public opinion surveys on various topics have been existing in Poland, and for a long time at that?

[Answer] In establishing the Public Opinion Research Main Center the Council of Ministers clearly defined the purpose of its existence: the Center will be--unlike other centers of this type--a center for interdisciplinary research and as such it will poll the citizens of our state, and the opinion of broad masses of society will be considered by the authorities when making socially important

decisions. The findings of studies conducted by the CBOS will also be to the government a source of information on the local implementation of the decisions of the authorities.

[Question] Thus the Public Opinion Research Main Center will be a service institution rather than a scientific one?

[Answer] A service one with respect to the government and society, but also a scientific one. After all, this concerns scientific accuracy. We decided to reach public opinion by every possible technique. What we already are doing shows that public opinion has to be reproduced very laboriously; not only from various kinds of studies and analyses but also from fragmentary information. Consider for example that our sociologists attentively peruse small press articles dealing with earthly, human matters.

[Question] At the conference in the Government Press Office several days ago you had declared that the CBOS has decided to start its activities by examining the mechanisms of action of the economic reform. The first of the planned topics in this connection pertained to the wage system in Poland. What do citizens think about the wages received for their labor?

[Answer] The exact wording of the topic was: "Wages in the Opinion of Workers." We conducted studies at five largest work establishments in Warsaw: the Automobile Factory [FSO], the URSUS Tractor Plant, the WARSZAWA Iron and Steel Plant, and Warynskigo and Rosa Luxembourg plants. We distributed questionnaires and stated clearly that we expect absolutely voluntary answers and the return of the questionnaires.

[Question] How many questionnaires were returned out of the total distributed?

[Answer] More than half.

[Question] What did the workers say about the current wage system?

[Answer] That it is bad.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Because it does not promote good and productive work and disregards qualifications and degree of skill. The wage rate system (those various norms, rates and dual classifications which make even piecework unprofitable to the worker) was criticized, as were the excessively low base pay and the excessively numerous pay allowances. In the end, people are unaware of what they are specifically paid for.

[Question] On what else did the respondents to the wage poll comment?

[Answer] That everything in this country is built by their heavy labor and without that labor it is difficult to imagine surmounting the economic crisis. They also offer suggestions for a more appropriate remuneration of labor. For example, the question "What groups should be given a wage increase if the plant were to obtain funds for this purpose?" was decisively answered: "Above all, those who work /productively/." [printed in boldface]

[Question] As this poll indicates, workers expect an appropriate and measurable evaluation of their labor. Who, in their opinion, should decide on the size of earnings?

[Answer] The work establishment. Autonomously! Such is the opinion of more than 92 percent of the polled workers. Proposals on size of earnings should come directly from foremen and brigade leaders, that is, from persons who are closest to the worker. Workers believe that the lack of independence by the plant as to the wage question is the chief misfortune, as is besides the improper structure of employment (excessively large administrative staffs, ineffective wage rate schedules and improper legal solutions).

[Question] Inclusive of the Labor Law Code?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] The poll contained such outright questions as "What people don't accept?", of course with respect to wages. What were the answers?

[Answer] Workers don't accept the disregard or underestimation of arduous and noxious working conditions. People resolutely don't accept the equalization of wages according to, more or less, the principle of wage /egalitarianism/ [printed in boldface] for all. In the questionnaires, workers wrote that they are ready to eliminate from their teams persons who work badly.

[Question] Without investigating the causes?

[Answer] On taking into account that some people have material, health and, say, family-personal problems.

[Question] When placed in a quandary on what should funds be spent in the present situation--wages or social services--what did the respondent workers prefer?

[Answer] They pointed to an intermediate solution: as much for wages as for social services.

[Question] What are the findings of the parallel polls conducted by the CBOS among plant managers, worker self-governments, plant PZPR committees and trade unions?

[Answer] A nearly complete convergence of opinions and appraisals with those of workers occurs. The wage system is evaluated as too complex and at the same time...fictitious. The employee, if he can at all grasp the functioning of that system, then only with respect to the legal provisions under which he is entitled to receive pay rather than /what/ [printed in boldface] he is paid for. Managerial personnel claim that the current wage system is not a good management tool, and is rather an obstacle to management, because it necessitates internal cheating to assure that work be really done and people be paid, as well as external cheating to assure that all this be in accord with the existing regulations. Managers say that the current wage system disregards differences in the difficulty and degree of skill required in various kinds of jobs, and that it does not consider the qualifications of employees.

[Question] Thus the managerial personnel state that wages in the plants polled are not at all an economic category.

[Answer] As the responses indicate, wages perform exclusively a social function; they represent remuneration for the fact of staying in one's job. Let me recall what the workers commented: people cannot gain much from higher earnings and if even if they receive them, the effort is incommensurate.

[Question] Will the Public Opinion Research Main Center continue to survey worker communities?

[Answer] Yes. Not just on one subject, and on the national scale at that.

[Question] What are the plans of the CBOS for the immediate future?

[Answer] Studies of the functioning of the economic reform in various fields (in the opinion of citizens, of course) will be continued, and opinions on the new trade unions, on the performance of the administration at various levels and the functioning of propaganda will be polled. We count greatly on help from the participants in the national conference of workers, whose opinions on the conservation and anti-inflation programs we will survey with the aid of questionnaires.

[Question] In what ways other than questionnaire polls is the CBOS surveying public opinion?

[Answer] We have a letter analysis section in which we accumulate correspondence from citizens to the government and to us, to the CBOS, as well. In addition, one can telephone the Public Opinion Main Research Center. Our Warsaw telephone number, 21-34-34, is active from 0900 till 1900 hours. We record /all/ [printed in boldface] comments and opinions we receive. Telephone contact with citizens is extremely absorbing and, I would say, of a sensitive nature, but we value it very highly.

#### Public Opinion Research on Workers

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 1-2 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Wojciech Jurczak: "To Know, Understand... and Decide" under the rubric Public Opinion Research Main Center"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the source]

[Text] Col Doc Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Research Main Center [CBOS], a kind of institution previously unknown to our political-social life, defines as follows its credo of action:

/"The Center began to operate properly only in the last 3 months or so and we are perfectly aware that we are not facing a path of roses. I can't either imagine any action following the line: the authorities recommend something and the institute carries out the recommendation. Of course, such recommendations have been made but--I repeat--the authorities also have to learn how to use the Center. They have to learn to ask questions. The point is not that every question of the state administration has to be answered. Some of the questions we received caused laughter at the recent session of the Socio-Political Committee of the Council of Ministers. Official certainty about what is known and not known has to be undermined. Ignorance should be made known, and this should reach official desks. The whole idea is still going through its birth pangs, and its development will



surely involve friction, particularly when the findings conflict with some colloquial interpretation of social problems, interpretation of the nature and desires of the society. As for citizens, in their turn, it is worthwhile to make them aware, show to them, that society is not a monolith but an intricate system of often contradictory group, community and class interests. Government decisions, particularly the emergency ones, the difficult ones taken during the economic crisis, will not, because they cannot, satisfy everyone. The authorities simply have to know about the situation of different classes and social strata; they have to know whom these decisions will affect, because generally it is inevitable that someone will lose by these decisions. Who should then be protected? With whom should cooperation be undertaken? Who should be tolerated and who condemned? Conflicts among diverse interests in the entire complexity of the social structure have to be perceived."/

Tell What You Think....

Once the Public Opinion Research Main Center started operating, we ceased to be one of the few countries lacking a public opinion survey center facilitating decisionmaking at the government level.

The establishment of the center had been postulated by many social groups; the greatest pressure in this matter was exerted by workers, who demanded establishing an institution that would be the principal link in the chain of promoting the process of public consultation. So now we have the desired Center and...what next?

In the first few weeks of its existence the new center began to employ known opinion survey techniques and has already carried out its first studies, of value to determining subsequent social policies. But we shall discuss that in a moment.

/THE FIRST FORM OF CONSULTATION WITH SOCIETY WAS THE OPENING OF THE SO-CALLED "HOT LINE," A MANNED TELEPHONE, NUMBER 21-34-34, IN WARSAW, FOR ACCEPTING THE OPINIONS OF CITIZENS ON ALL MATTERS, PROJECTS, GOVERNMENT DECISIONS, ETC. THE HOT LINE IS MANNED DAILY EXCEPT SUNDAYS FROM 0900 TO 1900 HOURS./

What matters were reported by citizens in the first few weeks of existence of the "Hot Line"? In addition to the fairly numerous personal problems--let us make it clear here that the Center is not yet an organization that intervenes in them--important social issues were raised. People regard as such issues the activation of production for its own sake merely to "keep alive" some plant. Specific enterprises and mistaken decisions were identified.

The caller is free either to identify himself to the Center or to remain anonymous. What matters is not his identity but what he says, proposes, states, or concludes. It is characteristic that so far it is representatives of strata of the intelligentsia who avail themselves most of the "Hot Line," and moreover opinions are stated with a great deal of emotion and sometimes passion.

Of course, telephone contact with citizens is not the only form of the Center's activity. It was decided to reach public opinion in all possible ways. Press analyses also are employed, as owing to them it is possible to learn the opinions of persons engaged in various domains of economic, social and political activity.

/The Center is a service institution,/ as was emphasized at the moment of its establishment, and this principle will be consistently followed. It serves both the government and its ministries and the society. At the same time, it wants to retain its scientific nature. /It cannot be a party to the dialogue between the leadership of the state and the society. It must, on the other hand, be an important relay station in this dialogue./

Public opinion surveys will precede government decisions, but this does not mean that such decisions, based on information obtained and processed by the Center, will always be consonant with the expectations of a majority of the public. Sometimes such decisions by the authorities are necessary and, though unpopular, may in the future prove advantageous to the collective whole. One has to know, however, how to replace "supposed knowledge" with knowledge of what social groups will be adversely affected by such unpopular or even drastic decisions, what groups will be most upset by them, what social strata are to be protected, etc.

#### The First Findings, Or to Whom, How Much and For What?

In the last few days the Center completed work on the first of the survey topics planned for this year: "Wages in the Opinion of Workers." The poll was conducted at five largest work establishments in Warsaw: the Automobile Factory [FSO], the URSUS Tractor Plant, the WARSAW Iron and Steel Plant, and the Warynskiego and Rosa Luxembourg plants.

More than 1,100 workers engaged in production participated in the poll. The respondents are skilled workers who earn from 10,000 to 18,000 zlotys monthly.

/The responses indicate that nearly all workers agree that the wage system in Poland is bad. They believe that good and productive work as well as qualifications and skills are not rewarded./

The wage-rate system, the various norms and rates and so-called dual classifications, were criticized. It was pointed out that even piecework rates do not reward better and more productive work.

/The workers commented negatively on the bonus system and the excessively low base pay as well as the excessively numerous pay allowances./

/One of the respondents claimed: "I simply don't know how many such pay allowances exist and for what reasons I'm receiving them." Another wrote: "Wages should be paid for particular work and not for various imaginary indicators."/

A majority of the 1,100 respondents made such comments.

Concerning personnel turnover in industry, and specifically at the plants comprised by the poll, the respondents commented that wages and their size are not decisive to changing the place of employment. The decisive factor is the aforementioned "production for its own sake" and the attendant waste.

/What appears more important than the approach itself of workers to the wage topic is that, owing to this survey, the degree of awareness of the working class can be assessed. With respect to the group polled, it is to be stated that those who put forward the thesis of immaturity of that class are greatly mistaken./

The questionnaires returned to the Center indicate that workers are aware that everything is produced by their heavy labor and the crisis cannot be overcome without their participation. In addition, they offer solutions which will serve to reflect their labor and properly honor work by means of incentives for skills, qualifications and commitment to honest production.

/The question "Which groups should be granted wage increases if appropriate funds were to be available at the plant?" was answered as follows by a definite majority of respondents: "Primarily to those who work productively."/

Several days ago the Center carried out parallel opinion surveys on this topic in the same five plants in the nation's capital. The only difference was that this time questionnaires were distributed to the management, worker self-governments, trade-union founding committees and party organizations. The poll revealed considerable convergence of views and opinions on wages with those expressed earlier by workers.

In the opinion of respondents from both groups, workers are waiting for an appropriate and measurable evaluation of their labor. This issue should be resolved autonomously by their labor establishments. Such was the answer given by 92.6 percent of respondents. In their opinion, all decisions on bonuses, awards and increases should be decided upon by the immediate supervisors--foremen and brigade leaders.

Pluses, Minuses....

Like any other innovation, the Center and its work have already been criticized by sceptics: "The sample population was too small. Only plants in the nation's capital were studied under the magnifying glass," and so forth, and so forth.

I don't agree fully with these reservations. Experts have determined that the sample population was sufficiently representative. Of course, the fact that the Center confined its survey to just five plants in the nation's capital is a minus, but this does not negate the findings of the poll.

Consider also that the Center is just making its first steps, organizing its entire structure, hiring experts. Their proper selection is--in the opinion of Col Stanislaw Kwiatkowski--at least three-fourths of the success of the entire undertaking. Hence also those hired for work at the Center on Zurawia Street in Warsaw are chiefly not just persons with degrees in sociology and psychology but those specializing in specific domains of these scientific disciplines.

The Center does not want to be a kind of Gallup Institute that merely records opinions but instead it intends to provide cognitive material which should also provide in the future a basis for scientific research and analyses. For its purposes are both provisional and long-range.

The Center's director predicts that it will issue publications in the future, such as a monograph under the general title "Workers' Opinions." Besides--as he had stressed at a recent press conference in the Office of the Government's Press Spokesman--the Center's customers, that is, the state authorities attach the greatest importance to the opinions of workers./

In the future, too, and in the not distant future at that, the Center's poll-takers will start covering the country and the sample populations will include various communities, various plants, social groups, etc.

The "processing" possibilities of this new research center are limited. Hence, in the initial stage of its operations, the utilization of the assistance of ministerial public opinion survey institutes is not precluded, since we already have such institutes, for example, the--best-known--Public Opinion Survey Center [OBOS] under the Committee for Radio and TV Affairs. That center has recently been trying to fill the gap by conducting surveys transcending its special domain, that is, analyzing the opinions of radio listeners and television viewers. It should be borne in mind, however, that there is a difference between social groups, classes and communities, on the one hand, and the great collective whole represented by the radio-TV public, on the other. Thus, without detracting from the OBOS, the new Center will take over its research surveys upon, however, availing itself of the valuable assistance of thousands of pollsters and co-workers.

#### Everyone Wants to Know More

The establishment of the Public Opinion Research Main Center has prompted a veritable avalanche of orders from the economic ministries. Every minister wants to know as much as he can how to link to some extent every decision to the feelings of the public. This is a healthy manifestation, and a new one in our public life. The ministries have--as announced by Docent Col St. Kwiatkowski--reported the need for surveys of as many as 98 topics to be undertaken immediately! Such a number simply cannot be done if the surveys are to be accurate and the Center is to be an authentic relay station in analyzing and presenting the voice of public opinion. Hence, attention was concentrated on the most important topics.

Following the poll on wages, various communities will be polled about the economic reform, with the first sample population to be constituted by the participants of the recent National Conference of Worker Aktiv. One of the questions will deal with evaluation of the measures to counter inflation. Such opinion polls will be repeated with respect to the participants in that worker conference, for the point is that opinions should be polled while the moment is still fresh with respect to decisions and measures taken.

Opinions will be surveyed concerning the state administration and its performance following changes introduced by recent parliamentary decrees such as the decree on the status of officials.

Also under consideration is a study of propaganda and information flow. Incidentally, activities in this domain encounter sharp criticism which reaches the Center even now chiefly via the "Hot Line." The callers complain about television programming, but their criticisms concern particular programs or news broadcasts and do not--as observations indicate--represent total criticism of everything and all; they rather reduce to often practical comments about what is convincing and what is mistaken and diverges from the intentions of authors.

In Poland--as many callers utilizing the "Hot Line" to the Center point out--propaganda is identified with the authorities and not with particular authors of publications, shows or TV programs.

## The Voice of Workers....

/...should be heard from any place in the country--the Center's director declared. The cognitive value of occasional meetings between the leadership of the state and workers should not be overestimated. Integral studies rather are needed./

It appears that already the first opinion surveys on the topic of wages, of who and how much should be paid, have demolished several stereotypes by refuting current and often unjust misconceptions.

One more thing: will the findings of the Center's surveys be public property or will they be stamped "For Internal Use"? The Center's management asserts that this will not happen. For there is nothing to be concealed, and the fact that we differ in our appraisals merely proves that the often conflicting interests of different social and occupational groups reveal themselves. This is perfectly normal. Naturally, of a certainty the Center's tasks also include defining more precisely the idea of national accord--bringing together on the same scale the views of the government and those of the public.

### Energizing Polish Workers From Doldrums

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 4-5 Jun 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Marian Stepień: "How to Release the Energies of Poles? This Drugged Sleep Must Be Interrupted"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] The Polish crisis--economic, political, ideological, moral. We are looking for a way out. In addition to good ideas a prerequisite for success is releasing and harnessing the--psychical and physical--energies of individuals, communities, the entire society. At the same time, however, discouragement, depression and apathy still persist, as do moods of resignation and refusal to participate./

/Unless the energies of Poles are released, the basic problems facing us cannot be solved. What is paralyzing these energies? What is overpowering them? Perhaps one of the most important questions nowadays is: "How to Release the Energies of Poles?"/

/The first to answer this question is Prof Marian Stepień, in his article published in the Krakow ZDANIE. Below we reprint excerpts from that article, which bears the title "This Drugged Sleep Must be Interrupted."/

(...) The attitude of doubt, resignation, apathy and refusal to participate in public life has gained--when this problem is viewed from the subjective standpoint of persons representing this attitude--an additional justification and even greater worth when the martial law was proclaimed. The martial law has prevented the natural discharge of the accumulated emotions. Had their logical culmination taken place, had a fratricidal explosion with unforeseeable consequences occurred, everyone would have sobered up more rapidly and their drugged sleep would have been brutally interrupted. But at what price?



The martial law, which fortunately prevented paying that price, had the adverse side-effect of postponing and protracting the delusions held by many Poles about their wisdom, heroism and greatness in the post-August period--delusions that would otherwise have been dispelled by life in the raw. So the drugged sleep continues. Sometimes even, as part of complications that arose following 13 December 1981 [proclamation of martial law], this sleep has been additionally deepened by active opposition of some and eloquent silence of others. (That silence cost us a great deal between December 1981 and December 1982.) Even now it is not hard to perceive actions and gestures dictated--in the best case, because worse cases also happen--by both the fear to disturb that sleep and concern for one's own popularity. Even works by otherwise serious authors often contain a suitable eyewink, a coquettish gesture, as it were. This style of writing is characteristic of the present times. It is nothing to be proud of (...)

A growing number of people have perceived the consequences of their own actions and, on confronting their ideas with reality, are revising their views, abandoning illusions shared until recently and beginning to understand political mechanisms and their property consisting in that quite frequently the resultant of actions taken may simply turn out to negate the intentions and goals which engendered them. Such an evolution of attitude does not at all have to acquire forms of a verbal declaration or some self-criticism. It manifests itself in tangible decisions and behavior. The number of such people is gradually increasing, though it still is too small.

Conversely, there is an ongoing decline in the numbers of those who do not want to relinquish anything, who wear the horseblinkers of conviction that they had been wise and brave, who listen neither to persuasion nor to logical arguments. who still refuse to perceive the causal relationships and mutual dependencies existing--regardless of their will and intention--between the essentially negative phenomena that also appear in present-day political life and the attitude they hold which reduces to a firm refusal to participate in the cause of rescuing Poland from the crisis. It also happens that some do not content themselves with this refusal but engage in obstructive and complicating actions....

Thus it is necessary to interrupt this narcotic sleep which continues to block effectively the energies of Poles--a sleep maintained and perpetuated by those who, while proposing the "wait-and-endure" attitude, regard themselves--o, irony!--as the sole legitimate spokesmen for Polish patriotism, whereby they give yet another proof of their immaturity.

How can this be done? Surely, many roads lead to that treasure, which we need so greatly today, represented by the released and properly channeled energies of Poles. But these roads remain undiscovered. At least this seems so, judging from the measurable effects achieved in this respect.

It is highly important to form such social structures as would promote releasing spontaneous activism and enrich our public life with authentic participation by citizens. It seems, however, that the nature of the phenomenon consists not in the shortage of such forms and possibilities but in the still insufficient eagerness to utilize them, in an attitude which too often is encountered and which could be defined as "Because they don't want to want," to quote a phrase from



Wyspianski's "The Wedding." But its motivation at present is more complex than that in Wyspianski's drama. It is colored by a subjective feeling of injustice, of a disappointment deeper than ever, directed at various sides and individuals and becoming embedded in myths of the conviction of one's own greatness which could not reach fulfillment solely because it had to give way before the physical force of the martial law.

One should clearly realize this: a person who lives in the deep conviction that by taking an active part in Solidarity in 1981 he had served solely a great and lofty cause, and that on 13 December of that same year he suffered an unexpected and undeserved injustice, cannot at present devote his full energies to the cause of repairing the Republic. This is impossible from the psychological point of view. The road to releasing his energies must lead through a true understanding of all the complexities of Polish life in recent years and perception of the negative consequences of the resultant which he and his likes had also aimed in a certain direction, and proportionately to scope of action and influence at that.

Hence, all those who, by virtue of their occupation or profession and place in society influence the shaping of public opinion and human attitudes, may not hold to a one-sided position.

It is not possible to speak in great and pathetic words of the values of the Polish August while at the same time glossing over or failing to mention at all the grave mistakes of Solidarity and its great share in the blame for the waste of these possibilities for improvement that had appeared following August 1980.

Discussions of the most significant problems of present-day Poland cannot be held at the level of derisive snickering, malicious remarks, mordant irony and base satisfaction because someone has again "quashed" someone else.

Such discussions cannot either be replaced with armchair decisions taken by those exercising power, which produce the impression that they have forgotten too soon about the Polish shock of the years 1980-1981 and its deeply rooted causes.

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